

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
Shiloh National Military Park
Shiloh Vicinity
Hardin County
Tennessee

HAER NO. TN-37

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HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD
National Park Service
Department of the Interior
1849 C Street, NW
Washington, D.C. 20240

HISTORIC AMERICAN ENGINEERING RECORD
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LOCATION: Shiloh National Military Park, Hardin County, Tennessee

DATES OF CONSTRUCTION: 1894-1932; 1933-1954; 1954-1981; 1981 to present

STRUCTURE TYPE: Scenic park tour system

FABRICATOR/
BUILDER: Various public and private contractors

ORIGINAL OWNER: U.S. Department of War

PRESENT OWNER: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Shiloh National Military Park

DESIGNERS: A War Department commission consisting of three Battle of Shiloh veterans, guided by work already underway at Gettysburg and Chattanooga, shaped the initial road development program from the 1890s to the 1930s. The guiding principle behind their work was the recreation of the landscape conditions at the time of the battle. In the 1930s, the National Park Service took over control of the park and the Works Progress Administration sponsored extensive renovations to incorporate traditional park design concerns and to accommodate increased automobile traffic. In the 1950s, the National Park Service's Mission 66 program funded road and other construction projects in hopes of improving visitor access and educational opportunities. The first commission's intention to duplicate the road system of the 1860s remained central to the park's planning and development, even though there were a few road additions and changes in road alignments, surfaces, grades, and landscaping over time.

SIGNIFICANCE: Shiloh National Military Park is one of the earliest national battlefield parks. The 3,972 acre park is located in rural Hardin

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 2)

County in southwestern Tennessee. It was established in 1894, making it the third military park created by the federal government to memorialize significant military engagements of the Civil War, coming after Chattanooga/Chickamauga National Military Park and Antietam National Battlefield, both of which began in 1890. The park roads facilitate the access, documentation, and commemoration of one of the first major battles of the western campaign of the Civil War which occurred on April 6 and 7, 1862 at Pittsburg Landing near Shiloh, Tennessee. The history and development of these roads reflect changing interpretations of the historic conflict, of the ideologies of battlefield preservation, and of the changing expectations of a national park experience. The roads form an integral part of the cultural landscape by shaping the educational and recreational experience of park visitors. Most are a legacy of the historic traces that existed at the time of the battle and of park roadway design.

The park roads are also significant for the role they played in local transportation development. This region's earliest modern paved roadways first appeared in the park. The relationship between the park's intentions for Shiloh National Military Park roads and vernacular expectations and desires continues to be an area of contention and accommodation.

PROJECT HISTORIAN: Cynthia Ott

PROJECT INFORMATION:

This project is part of the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER), a long-range program to document historically significant engineering and industrial works in the United States. The HAER program is administered by the Historic American Buildings Survey/Historic American

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 3)

Engineering Record Division (HABS/HAER) of the National Park Service, U.S. Department of the Interior. Shiloh National Military Park Tour Roads Recording Project was cosponsored during the summer of 1998 by HAER (Eric Delony, Chief) and Shiloh National Military Park (Woody Harrell, Superintendent). The project was funded by the Federal Lands Highway Program through the National Park Service Park Roads and Parkways program.

The field work, measured drawings, historical reports, and photographs were prepared under the directions of NPS Park Roads and Bridges Recording Program Manager Todd Croteau and Program Historian Tim Davis. Cynthia Ott prepared both the historical report and the drawings. Formal large-format photography was completed by Jet Lowe.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
HAER No. TN-37
(Page 4)

INDEX

DESCRIPTION.....	5
Road Types.....	7
Main Park Access Road: Tennessee Highway 22.....	10
Entry Road: Pittsburg Landing Road.....	11
Visitor Center Complex.....	12
Park Tour.....	13
Tour Stop 1: Pittsburg Landing.....	14
Tour Route Description.....	14
Non-Tour Route Drives.....	18
Bridges, Culverts and Gutters.....	20
Road Signs.....	20
Commemorative Features.....	21
BATTLE SCENARIO AND SIGNIFICANCE.....	24
PARK HISTORY.....	27
SHILOH NATIONAL CEMETERY, 1866.....	28
NATIONAL MILITARY PARK DEVELOPMENT, 1863-1895.....	29
SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK DEVELOPMENT, 1893-1905.....	34
Pre-Park Landscape.....	37
Land Surveys and Mapmaking.....	40
Park Design Debate.....	43
Land Acquisitions.....	46
Construction Program.....	49
CONSTRUCTION, 1898-1905.....	54
WAR DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES, 1906-1932.....	61
SHILOH-CORINTH ROAD, 1899-1932.....	63
INTERNAL PARK IMPROVEMENTS, 1906-1933.....	68
NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND WORKS PROGRESS ERA, 1933-1954.....	75
Park Entrances.....	82
Headquarters Area.....	82
Tour Route.....	84
Landscape Program.....	87
Local Access.....	88
MISSION 66 AND AFTERMATH, 1954-1980.....	91
Tour Route.....	96
MASTER PLAN, 1980-1981.....	98
Revised Tour Route.....	101
Landscape Programs.....	102
CURRENT PARK AND LANDSCAPE ISSUES, 1998.....	103
APPENDIX 1: ROADS.....	108
APPENDIX 2: CHRONOLOGY.....	120
SOURCES CONSULTED.....	123

DESCRIPTION

Shiloh National Military Park (SNMP) is located in rural Hardin County, Tennessee, on the west bank of the Tennessee River. It is situated 200 miles upstream from the Tennessee Valley Authority's Kentucky Dam and nine miles downstream from Pickwick Dam. Both hydroelectric projects were completed in the 1940s. In contrast to the low-lying flood plains on the river's east side, the west bank in the vicinity of the park is bordered by high bluffs. At the crest of the bluffs, the land rolls out to the west into undulating terrain. In some places, however, tributaries of the river form steep ravines that break up the rolling land. The park is mostly blanketed by dense forest. The woods are separated in places by ten to forty acre patches of open fields and by timbered areas that are cleared of underbrush. The clearing and maintenance of the historic fields has been a constant struggle for park maintenance crews since the park's inception.

Like other battlefield parks created in the 1890s, Shiloh was developed to preserve and document the area of action of the historic conflict and to commemorate its participants. Along with the web of historic country roads, park officials attempted to recreate historic landscape patterns. After extensive field studies and documentary research, the park organizers placed explanatory plaques and monuments to interpret battle events at points where they concluded the events actually occurred. Although early organizers downplayed the idea of establishing a recreational park setting at Shiloh, over the years the battlefield grounds were given many characteristics of public parks. Serpentine parkways were created through naturalistic-style forest groves and expansive lawns and fields that duplicated historic patterns but not appearances. Unlike the City Beautiful movement or other monumental road designs, the battlefield park sacrificed formality in favor of maintaining this more naturalistic landscape. With the addition of the monuments and markers, the site adopted an aura of a historic and natural sanctuary.¹

¹ See Reuben M. Rainey, "The Memory of War: Reflections on Battlefield Preservation," in *The Yearbook of Landscape Architecture: Historic Preservation* eds. Richard L. Austin et al (New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1988); Reuben M. Rainey, "Hallowed Grounds and Rituals of Remembrance: Union Regimental Monuments at Gettysburg," in *Understanding Ordinary*

The countryside surrounding the park has a very low population density. Mostly modest houses, trailers and small commercial establishments, such as convenience stores, gas stations, and bars, are interspersed among large tracts of dense forest land and open farmland. The park itself maintains a rural character. The reduced scale of the open fields, scarcity of buildings, prominence of battlefield monuments and markers, and manicured park-like quality of the roadside woodlands distinguish it from the neighboring landscape.

The closest towns of any considerable size to the park are Savannah, Tennessee, and Corinth, Mississippi. Savannah is located 11.4 miles to the northeast on U.S. Route 64 and Corinth is located twenty-two miles south of the park on Mississippi Route 2, an extension of Tennessee Highway 22. Both towns are historically important to the park. An important railroad hub, Corinth was especially relevant to the development of a transportation system. The first major local roads were located between it and the park.

Generally, the park roads follow old transit routes between Corinth, Savannah, Adamsville and Purdy to various steamboat landings on the river (i.e., Pittsburg, Crump, Hamburg), reflecting the river's historic importance as a link to the outside world for this isolated southwest Tennessee community. Even though park administrators strove to duplicate historic road patterns, they did not always abandon practicality for authenticity. Most of the old road surfaces were repeatedly updated with new materials and grades to accommodate modern motorists needs, and the 1930s era roads were even designed to moderate fast-moving traffic. There are few speed limit signs in the park as well. Because of their tactical importance, other roads, such as Sunken Road and Reconnoitering Road, were maintained in more antiquated conditions.

Shiloh National Military Park is not a gated park; there is public access twenty-four hours a day. This circumstance produces challenges and tensions between park officials who traditionally sought to control access to the park and local residents who commute through it.

Landscapes, eds. Paul Groth and Todd W. Bressi (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997); and Tony Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic: Dispatches from the Unfinished Civil War* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1998).

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 7)

There are four different ways to enter the park. From the south, one can enter via Hamburg Road and Eastern Corinth Road, and from the west via two intersections on Tennessee Highway 22, including one at Hamburg-Purdy Road and the other at Pittsburg Landing Road (previously Savannah-Pittsburg Landing Road and, later, Grant Road). Although park signs are installed at all boundaries, visitors are encouraged to use the Pittsburg Landing Road entrance by signs along the northbound lane on Highway 22 that direct visitors past the entrance at Hamburg-Purdy Road to the one on Pittsburg Landing Road.

Besides the posted signs, the near-absence of residential and commercial developments and the pristine character of the park roadsides compared to the less-manicured county roads provide visual clues to travelers that they are entering park grounds. A few historic markers are located beyond the main circumference of park, however, blurring the distinction between the commemorative and vernacular landscapes.

Shiloh's roads are integral to the park's design and mission. Most alignments are artifacts dating from the time of the battle. The roads help recreate the battle narrative, provide the main access to the site, and are an important aesthetic component of the park landscape. Although a vast majority of the roadways follow historic traces, the design and character of the roads themselves is varied.

ROAD TYPES

Shiloh Park roads can be placed in four basic categories, including country roads, park roads, a state highway, and dirt traces. Country roads are those routes that mimic vernacular, rural lanes. They are 13' wide asphalt roads, and are the narrowest roads in the park. In the case of Reconnoitering Road, many are a single lane. Unlike park roads, little attention was given to the sinuosity of curves and grades in the road design. The roadside vegetation, including trees, wild flowers, and grasses, is allowed to grow up near the edge of the pavement in a more free-form fashion than on the neatly manicured park roads. Driving on these roads simulates riding along back-country roads in many American rural areas. There are relatively few commemorative markers or monuments on these roads.

Park roads consist of gracefully serpentine roads that generally follow the contours of the land so that they appear to blend in with the surrounding landscape. They were constructed by the National Park Service beginning in the 1930s. According to the

generations, the historic fields were maintained and miles of road shoulders were regularly mowed.³⁰⁴ Heavy undergrowth was cut to improve visibility and access to monuments and historic fields.³⁰⁵ Efforts to control the erosion along the banks of the river also continued unabated.

By the mid-twentieth century, the park no longer served as the site of personal reunions for veterans arriving by steamboat but was envisioned as a text of Civil War history to be read, with guidebook in hand, through the window of a family car or a commercial tour bus. The changes wrought by the Mission 66 program helped facilitate this transition.

MASTER PLAN, 1980-1981

In 1980, Shiloh National Military Park developed a "new" General Management Plan that contained many old and familiar themes and goals. Like earlier plans, it was designed under the basic tenet of "improving the visitor experience and preserving the historic battlefield."³⁰⁶ The main priorities were to protect the park's resources by limiting access, controlling river erosion, and acquiring abutting land parcels; to improve the operations of the park by creating a one-way tour loop and expanding interpretation; and to enhance visitor facilities by updating and enlarging buildings and parking lots. Even as park officials proposed further alterations of park land, they continued to extol the historic integrity of the site. Perhaps confusing a commemorative park landscape with an historic one, a park proposal stated, "Neatly manicured lawn areas and stately oaks with their protective shade provide a memorial setting and impress visitors with a sense of beauty and tranquility that allows them to slip easily back into the past."³⁰⁷

In 1973, Edwin C. Bearss, a National Park Service historian, created a new historic base map, the first in forty years.

³⁰⁴ "Mission 66 Prospectus: SNMP," August 26, 1959. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁵ Section E: Protection, "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 2. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁶ NPS, "Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Proposed General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan, Shiloh National Military Park," 1981, 1. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁷ NPS, General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan for Shiloh National Military Park, ca. 1981, 1. SNMP Archives.

changes.³ In most cases, little is done to hide the presence of these roads even though they are no longer in use, perhaps reflecting the park's desire to represent historic patterns in the landscape. Many are currently identified as hiking trails in park literature. There is a wide variety of abandoned roads, including Sherman Road, which is a 12' gravel road located between McClernand Road and Corinth Road whose access is blocked by a "Do Not Enter" sign. Hamburg-Savannah Road exists in a variety of forms. It begins at the west end as a 16' wide indentation in the ground near the main entrance, then progresses to a grass-covered gravel road before changing to asphalt when it opens up to visitor traffic and joins the tour route.

The south end of Corinth Road, between Highway 22 and Reconnoitering Road, and Beauregard Road (previously Plum Orchard Road) were both once vital gravel causeways that are now overgrown with weeds and closed to vehicular traffic. Riverside Drive, a 12' wide, mile and a half long asphalt road, was closed in the 1980s because of dangers posed by erosion along the river bank. The serpentine route, now open just to hikers and bikers, curves around from Pittsburg Landing to a lookout over the river, heads steeply down to a culvert over Dill Branch, proceeds back up the other side of the ravine to a plateau containing historic Indian mounds, and then goes straight out of the woods, across Cloud Field, to a parking lot on Hamburg-Savannah Road.

Finally, there is the dirt pathway of the Sunken Road. Because the Sunken Road reportedly marks the perimeter of the Union defensive line in an important episode of the battle, the park has restored it to its approximate condition in 1862 instead of making it into a passable vehicular by-way like many of the other historic traces.⁴ The dirt road stretches from Corinth Road

³ See *Map of Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee* (Aurora, CO: Trailhead Graphics, Inc., 1995), which clearly illustrates historic traces in the park.

⁴ There is some debate over the validity of the route as a thoroughfare that existed at the time of the battle. According to SNMP historian William Kay's report, "The Sunken Road," it is more a tribute to veterans' nostalgic recollections and historians' misrepresentation of historic data than an actual artifact of the battle. Perhaps in ways not too different from other areas of the park, it is arguably more important as a landscape feature for the way it reflects national and personal memory rather than for the way it preserves fact. William K. Kay,

south across Eastern Corinth Road and proceeds southeast behind the William Manse George cabin before connecting with the Hamburg-Savannah Road. It is the most widely-used footpath in the park.

MAIN PARK ACCESS ROAD: TENNESSEE HIGHWAY 22

The main approach to the park is via Tennessee Highway 22.⁵ The road runs through the park in a north-south direction for nearly four miles, forming the western edge of the main tourist area. At the south end, it enters park property at the town of Shiloh. Shiloh was the site of the park's south entrance from its establishment until the construction of the highway in 1962. The town currently consists of an abandoned hotel, a convenience store, a souvenir shop, a restaurant, and a gas station. The trace of the old Route 22 is located behind the restaurant parking lot and is covered with vegetation. A small wooden National Park Service sign notes that it is an "historic trail."

After leaving the commercial crossroads and heading north on Highway 22, there is a brown park entrance sign on the east side of the road. The speed limit remains 45 mph. Vehicles enter a landscape of dense woodlands with narrow bands of mowed grass next to the road. A few private residences are situated along the west side of the road. As drivers move north, the scenery becomes less vernacular and more park-like. The road makes a few broad curves and has some steep grades. It also offers scenic views through the woods of historic fields dotted with monuments and clumps of oaks and hickories.

There are several pull-off areas along the route to enable visitors to get out of their vehicles to view the immediate park landscape. The first significant one denotes the site of the 1930s black Civilian Conservation Corps camp. One mile farther, also on the west side of the road, is the entrance to the Sowell Field picnic pavilion. The picnic area road forms a single lane, one-way, asphalt, .6 mile loop. A grass field fills the center of the loop and dense woodlands surround it. According to park historian Stacy Allen, the lawn roughly represents the historic field boundary. Picnic tables are tucked beneath trees and both

"The Sunken Road," January 1957, Shiloh National Military Park Archives, Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee. (Hereafter, the archives will be cited as SNMP Archives.)

⁵ For the purpose of consistency, the road will be referred to as Highway 22, although it is also known as Route 22.

a restroom and a large covered pavilion are located at the east end of the loop. Parking is provided along the outer edge of the loop. In keeping with the NPS aesthetic, logs serve as parking curbs.

Less than a mile north of the picnic area, signs direct drivers past the park access at Hamburg-Purdy Road to the park's main entrance at Pittsburg Landing Road, two miles ahead. The highway forms a Y-intersection with Pittsburg Landing Road.⁶ At the intersection, an extra lane forms on both sides of the highway, making two lanes on either side of the double-yellow line. The sets of lanes are divided by grassy medians. The Y-intersection prevents the interference of through traffic by visitors slowing down to turn into the park. When approaching the park entrance from the north, an old commercial development consisting of both abandoned and thriving bars and a Civil War relic shop borders the park boundary. A quarter mile stretch of road flanked by neatly mowed grass and dense woodlands proceeds to Pittsburg Landing Road.

The most prominent feature marking the entrance to the park is not the visitor center sign but the intersection landscape. Worm fences bend around both corners of Pittsburg Landing Road, leading visitors into the park. Dense woodlands cover the west side of Highway 22. On the northeast corner of the intersection, a broad field opens up a view of the entry road. The southeast corner contains all the elements of a romantic battlefield park. Neatly mowed historic Perry Field is broken by a growth of evergreens which indicate an historic house site, stone monuments, and cannon silhouetted against a woodlands backdrop.⁷ The scene is serene, historic and tidy, qualities carried throughout most of the park. The natural and cultural features are important both for the ambiance they create and the historic features they represent.

ENTRY ROAD: PITTSBURG LANDING ROAD

After the turn east on to Pittsburg Landing Road, a pull-off is located on the immediate right to allow visitors foot access to

⁶ For information regarding Y-intersections, see Linda Flint McClelland, *Presenting Nature: The Historic Landscape Design of the National Park Service, 1916 to 1942* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1993), 126.

⁷ The location of the historic site was provided by Stacy Allen.

the idyllic battlefield landscape before them. The grass-covered sunken remnants of Hamburg-Savannah Road, whose course becomes a dirt trace on the west side of Highway 22, is clearly visible on the south side of the road. Signs identifying the road as Pittsburg Landing Road and noting that entry fees are "payable at the visitor center" are posted.

Pittsburg Landing Road is a gently serpentine route that is bordered by colonnades of trees and monuments. After driving approximately three-quarters of a mile, visitors emerge from a windy section of roadway into a dense cluster of monuments. These monuments indicate the visitors' approach to an important center of park and battle activities.

VISITOR CENTER COMPLEX

After passing a number of cannons that mark Grant's Last Line, the massive Iowa State Memorial comes into view. The tall obelisk, with an allegorical bronze "Liberty" gracefully adorning the east side, serves as a commemorative marker and a ceremonial entryway to the visitor center. East of the monument, the landscape opens up onto a broad plateau and the woodlands fall back to appear only in peripheral vision. Mature oaks, cedars, and ash trees, batteries of cannon, and numerous battlefield markers are scattered around the plateau. A small section of worm fencing on the south side of the lawn functions as visual reference to 1862 and as a crowd-control barrier during historic weapon-firing demonstrations.

The main features of the Visitor Center complex are the 10 acre National Cemetery, which dates from 1866, and the two-story Greek Revival brick visitor center building and the matching one-story Colonial Revival bookstore, which date from the 1930s. The visitor center building contains a museum interpreting the history of the battle with artifacts and maps. Visitors can view an orientation film produced in the 1950s that depicts significant battle events. Restroom facilities and a small hut with vending machines are located adjacent to the bookstore. There are no picnic facilities, so many visitors simply lunch on the lawn to the north of the parking lot.

The roads in the complex are organized in a confusing network of intersections. The design dates from the 1930s when the National Park Service (NPS) replaced the historic road network with this new configuration. Pittsburg Landing Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road form parallel curves until the first continues east down to the landing and the second curves around in front of the

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 13)

main visitor center, past the front of the bookstore, and into the main parking lot. A small parking lot with nine spaces is located in front of the cemetery entrance.

The main parking lot is located on the east side of the visitor center. It is designed for vehicles to enter on the east side and exit down the middle and west aisles. Grassy medians with shade trees separate the rows of parking spaces. The lot capacity is eighty-six vehicles, with three additional slots for tour buses and recreational vehicles at the north end. Visitors are likely to first enter the visitor center to register, pay the entrance fee, get an orientation to the park, proceed to the bookstore and cemetery, and then return to their vehicles to begin the auto tour.

PARK TOUR

Unlike decades past when guided tour vehicles were a common means of visiting the park, Shiloh National Military Park is now mostly visited via self-guided tours. Visitors can attend historic programs given by park rangers at numerous sites throughout the park, but they travel to these locations in their own vehicles. Commercial tour buses make up a small percentage of the vehicles used.

The general organization of the prescribed park auto tour is a circuitous route that moves counterclockwise from the visitor center. Because the original, primary access to the park was by steamboat on the Tennessee River, the park circulation system starts at Pittsburg Landing, not at Fraley Field, where the battle began on the morning of April 6, 1862. The tour does not follow a chronological sequence of battle events but does provide the most circuitous and comprehensive route to points of historic interest. Although there is a clear start to the route at Pittsburg Landing, there are no markings on the tour maps and only a small sign on the route that indicate the end of the tour.⁸ The last stop of the tour is Bloody Pond on Hamburg-Savannah Road. From here, visitors are directed north to the intersection with Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. At this juncture, they can retrace their route to the visitor center or follow Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road east to Hamburg-Purdy Road and exit the park, a less ceremonious alternative.

⁸ There is an "end of Tour" sign on the south side of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road, immediately across from the Iowa State Memorial.

TOUR STOP 1: PITTSBURG LANDING

The tour route begins by heading east on Pittsburg Landing Road. At the top of the river bluff, before descending to the landing, Riverside Drive curves off to the south. This 12' wide asphalt road was open to one-way vehicular traffic until riverbank erosion forced its closure in 1993. The situation is unfortunate because the route provides a spectacular overlook of the river, access to Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark, several battlefield monuments, and a scenic wooded landscape. It also contains the Dill Branch culvert, one of the largest engineering projects in the park. The culvert was constructed in the 1940s by the Civilian Conservation Corps. Fiscal problems have delayed the re-opening of this route, as of 1998.

From the intersection with Riverside Drive, a steep grade leads down to a parking area overlooking the river landing. A deep cement gutter borders the north edge of the 18' wide asphalt road and continues down the slope past the parking area to the river. The landing is within easy walking distance from the visitor center. Pedestrians coming from the visitor center are encouraged to use the brick walkway in the cemetery. The walkway and road terminate at an L-shaped parking lot, which accommodates approximately eight cars and has barely enough room for a tour bus to turn around. The lot is bordered on three sides by a 3' high stone masonry wall. A wayside exhibit equipped with an audio program is located at the north end of the lot. There are no walking paths leading down to the grassy slope of the landing which might encourage visitors to remain at the overlook. Before 1954, the landing was twice its present size, but erosion consumed the landing in a single catastrophic event.

TOUR ROUTE DESCRIPTION

Visitors return up the hill on South Pittsburg Landing Access Road, past the visitor center to the north and a battery of cannon in a clearing to the south. There is a pull-off area located at the site of Grant's Last Line near the Iowa State Memorial (Tour Stop 2). The road from the landing originally forked at this location. The south branch was the Corinth Road and the north branch was the Savannah-Pittsburg Landing Road. The NPS destroyed the original road pattern when they erected the visitor center complex in the 1930s. From the Iowa State Memorial, visitors travel a mile-long stretch of scenic parkway containing large randomly-spaced mature trees set in grass and bordered by dense woodland. This section of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road serves as a soothing transition area between the

many attractions of the visitor center and those in the heart of the park.

After crossing the intersection with Hamburg-Savannah Road, the land flattens out and opens up onto two historic fields. A tour sign directs visitors straight ahead. Specimen trees and troop position markers are located ahead to the west and Cloud Field, a hay field bounded by forest, is visible to the south. As with many roads in the park, Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road has broad gentle curves. It offers glimpses of battlefield features in the distance which serve as enticements to proceed forward. It also has a variegated roadscape that continually juxtaposes open fields with densely wooded terrain, a landscape pattern that represents both historic conditions and parkway aesthetics.

Past a small field to the north sits the large United Daughters of Confederacy Monument with a backdrop of cedars. In the past, visitors were able to drive around the monument. The loop road was sodded over but two pull-offs enable visitors to stop and view the memorial. The tour proceeds past Eastern Corinth Road around a curve into the woods. The landscape then opens into historic Duncan Field, with the monument-laden Sunken Road located to the south along the eastern edge of the field (Tour Stop 3). The Sunken Road is located one and a half miles inland from Pittsburg Landing. Ruggles' Battery (Tour Stop 4) is located a short distance ahead across the field. It is identified by a massed battery of cannon positioned perpendicular to the road, stretching along the western edge of Duncan Field. After Tour Stop 4, visitors proceed to McClernand Road to the north, the approach to the largest Confederate burial trench in the park (Tour Stop 5).

McClernand Road is a narrow, 12' wide, one-way route passing through forest until it meets with Sherman Road. Visitors drive south then west to loop around to the burial trench, one of five trenches for southern dead marked on the battlefield. Visitors often decorate the site with memorial wreaths and flowers. Proceeding south from the trench toward Corinth Road, visitors travel past Water Oaks Pond, the location of the final engagements on the second day of the battle (Tour Stop 6). From a stop sign located west of the pond, visitors rejoin Corinth Road and proceed across Hamburg-Purdy Road south toward the Shiloh United Methodist Church and grave yard (Tour Stop 7).

After passing the church, visitors enter the area of the battlefield where the opening movements and actions occurred.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 16)

The number of monuments and markers decreases the further south that visitors proceed on the road. The route is a graceful, meandering, tree-lined drive. After winding down a steep grade buffered by turns banked with superelevation and crossing the stone double-culvert over Shiloh Branch, road signs inform visitors that by turning east onto Peabody Road they can visit Rea Springs. Peabody Road proceeds east to link with the Eastern Corinth Road but the tour route directs visitors back to Corinth Road. A "Do Not Enter" sign located near the springs prevents traffic from moving further east on Peabody Road.⁹ Visitors can park their vehicles in the gravel parking lot on the north side of the road, from which two short hikes provide access to two Confederate burial trenches. One is located in Rea Field to the south, and the other is situated north of the East Branch.

From the junction with Peabody Road, the Corinth Road proceeds south another two-thirds of a mile to where the road terminates at the intersection with Reconnoitering Road near Fraley Field. Before Highway 22 was rerouted in 1962, Corinth Road continued south for another half mile to the town of Shiloh. The old trace is now closed to vehicular traffic but open to hikers. A wayside exhibit is located south of the intersection (Tour Stop 8). It describes the historical significance of Fraley Field where the Union patrol encountered the Confederate pickets screening the Southern Army deployed to attack Grant's camps. Fraley Field is located south of the exhibit down a path through the woods.

Visitors are directed east from the tour stop onto Reconnoitering Road. Reconnoitering Road is a narrow 1.8 mile long and 13' wide roadway that is reminiscent of a country lane. The road proceeds past Seay Field to the south and then curves sharply northward through the surrounding woodland. The roadside is only roughly cleared of vegetation. Only three markers (the one marking the Union Defense Line is Tour Stop 9) are visible from the road. It offers the most commonplace or vernacular road experience in the park. Reconnoitering Road deadends at Peabody Road, though the historic trace is visible to the north. A gravel pull-off area with a mortuary monument to Colonel Everett Peabody and additional camp and position markers (Tour Stop 10) are located around the intersection. The tour route continues east on Peabody Road for a half mile until reaching a Y-intersection with Eastern Corinth Road.

⁹ East of the sign, Peabody Road is a one-way route running east to west from Peabody headquarters monument (Tour Stop 10).

Although the tour route proceeds north on Eastern Corinth Road, visitors can detour south in order to view several historic markers and cannon sited in Spain Field, including Brigadier General Gladden's mortuary monument located near the park's southern boundary. The leg of Eastern Corinth Road on the tour route does not possess many visible monuments. It is bordered instead by a majestic rural landscape. The straight-away is shaded by an allee of tall oak trees which frame the view of historic Barnes Field to the west.

At a four-way stop intersection, visitors are directed east onto Hamburg-Purdy Road. It possesses a more park-like aesthetic than the south end of Eastern Corinth Road. The edge of the woods meanders toward and away from the roadside, creating undulating patches of trees and grass. The road is bordered with many historic markers. Two open historic fields, located on the north side of the road, break up the woodland scenery. The easternmost field, Sarah Bell's Old Cotton Field, provides the setting for one of the most picturesque battlefield scenes in the park. Shaded by oak trees, the view encompasses a split-rail fence flanked by cannon that borders the southeast end of the large field. The field's north edge terminates 300 yards beyond in distant woodland. The small William Manse George cabin, located across the field, can also be glimpsed from the road. A gravel pull-off that allows visitors to linger at the site is located on the south edge of the road.

Tour signs direct visitors past Hamburg-Savannah Road to the Tent Hospital Site (Tour Stop 11) that is located an eighth of a mile further east. A single-lane loop road borders the location of "one of the first comprehensive tent hospitals in the Civil War."¹⁰ The site currently consists of a small apple orchard surrounded by a split-rail fence, stone monuments, and an historic marker. The south side of Hamburg Road is Larkin Bell Field. It is dotted with a battery of cannon and historic markers and bordered by large oak trees. The scene produces a sense of serenity. The tour signs invite visitors to head west toward the Hamburg-Savannah Road, instead of investigating the historic fields and a few markers to the south.

The last stretch of the tour provides many opportunities for visitors to stop and investigate significant sites. After driving out of a wooded ravine on Hamburg-Savannah Road, a small

¹⁰ Quotation is from the current SNMP brochure.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 18)

asphalt loop road to the east provides access to General Albert Johnston's death site (Tour Stop 12). A few hundred feet further north up the road is the infamous Peach Orchard (Tour Stop 13), located on the northeast corner of Sarah Bell's field. It is now a field of several spindly peach trees, but historically it was the scene of intense fighting. An asphalt parking lot is provided on the north edge of the orchard which permits visitors to view the orchard, read about the battle on the wayside exhibit, and walk the dirt path to the George cabin.

Immediately after returning to Hamburg-Savannah Road from the Peach Orchard parking lot, tourists arrive at the Bloody Pond (Tour Stop 14). The small, brackish pond, bordered on the east by a split-rail fence, marks the final stop on the tour. The remainder of Hamburg-Savannah Road alternates between field and forest until the last stretch flattens out and opens up to beautiful Cloud Field. The west side of Cloud Field is a tree-shaded lawn scattered with monuments. The east side of Cloud Field is bisected by Riverside Drive which is now closed to motor vehicles. Visitors, however, are permitted to park at the junction and hike the asphalt trail.

The flat terrain surrounding the road creates ideal vistas of monuments. The view culminates in a glimpse of the tall Michigan State Memorial, capped with a Union soldier, located at the intersection with the Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. It serves as a visual and thematic marker of the end of the park tour.

NON-TOUR ROUTE DRIVES

There are several sections of road that are not included on the tour route for purposes of traffic organization, but are still accessible to park visitors. Some of these areas contain wonderful scenery and significant commemorative features that form a vital part of the historic battlefield landscape. They include the southernmost and northernmost sections of Eastern Corinth Road. The southern section near the park boundary contains a mortuary monument and historic Spain Field. The northern section winds through woodland. There are at least thirty-six monuments and markers on and around the route, with a concentration around the intersection with the Sunken Road.

Another significant route not designated as part of the tour route is the section of Hamburg-Purdy Road between Eastern Corinth Road and Highway 22. This road is lined with large mature trees and embellished with many battle markers. It passes by Review Field, one of eighteen hayfields in the park managed by

permitted agricultural lease, before intersecting with Corinth Road. This intersection (which visitors also approach from the north on Corinth Road) contains all the essential ingredients of a battlefield park landscape, from shaded meadows and fields to cannon and monuments. West of the intersection, the road passes through a rather rustic wooded area, before returning to a more formal battlefield park design as it approaches the intersection with Highway 22. Although not as embellished as the main park entrance two miles to the north, the site is still well-manicured since it is a public facade to the park.

A section of Peabody Road between Rea Springs and Reconnoitering Road is another route that the formal tour bypasses. This half-mile route winds through attractive roadside wild flowers and woodlands. There are also several administrative and maintenance roads in the park which are barred from public access. One small 12' wide asphalt road is located between Pittsburg Landing Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road west of the Iowa State Memorial. The route represents an historic trace present in 1862. Current park management hopes to use this road as both an entrance and exit to a redesigned auto tour. Access to the maintenance area and employee housing is via an 18' wide asphalt road, known as Service Road. One leg of the road veers off to the north to the maintenance compound while the other continues northeast to a cul-de-sac surrounded by four staff residences. The area was designed to provide employees with easy access to the park headquarters while keeping it separated from the public. Trees planted between the complex and the administrative area help to visually separate the areas.

Finally, there are sections of county roads that cross into park property, including small stretches of Shiloh Road at the park's west boundary and of Hagy Road on the park's north boundary. Although the white NPS boundary signs are posted on the roads, there are no telling landscape features that announce it as park property. Bark Road, while located south of park boundary lines, is important to the park's road history. The road dates to before the battle and its western section was the scene of the Confederate bivouac the night before the attack.¹¹ The road follows a high ridge, allowing for wide panoramic views to the north and south. It was improved in the 1960s in order to

¹¹ Information from an interview with Lisa Robinson, who was a sub-contract archivist working under a Georgia Trust grant in 1998.

encourage local traffic to use it instead of park roads. This idea has not met with much success. Park roads are still commonly the most practical local thoroughfares and so are widely used by local commuters.

BRIDGES, CULVERTS AND GUTTERS

To install park drainage systems, landscape architects and engineers selected designs and materials that were durable, economical, and aesthetically compatible with the park setting.¹² They were continually repaired, renovated, or replaced over the years. All of the original wooden bridges were replaced by cement or stone masonry culverts after a 1909 tornado. Culvert pipes range in size from a few inches to several feet. There are several cement headwalls but most are smooth-cut stone masonry. They have either curved or flat tops and openings. There are double-arched culverts located over Shiloh Branch on both Corinth Road and Peabody Road. Single-holed stone culverts were placed along Hamburg-Purdy Road and many other watershed locations. The largest culvert in the park is located over Dill Creek. This approximately 10' diameter and 40' long pipe was laid in the early forties by Civilian Conservation Corps labor. The pipe is encased in concrete.

The drainage ditches in the park are made of sod, stone, or cement. Sod ditches are maintained along Eastern Corinth Road, Reconnoitering Road, and many other park roads. They were designed to mimic a natural setting. Along steep inclines where there are severe drainage problems, such as Pittsburg Landing Road where it descends from the river bluff past the landing parking lot, and sections of Riverside Drive, cement gutters were installed.

ROAD SIGNS

Road signs in the park are kept to a minimum. Most were created with simple designs and materials that communicate clearly but also remain relatively unobtrusive in the park landscape. One exception in the past was the park entrance signs. They were often very large and elaborate structures which ranged in style from log post-and-lintel forms to decorative wooden signs mounted between concrete pillars. Currently, park entrances are modest

¹² For general information regarding park engineering designs see Henry Vincent Hubbard, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1935); McClelland, *Presenting Nature*; National Park Service, *Park Road Standards*.

metal signs with white lettering on a brown background.

Within the park, road signs are designed to direct and control the flow of traffic. There are small 25 mph speed limit signs, short wooden road name signs painted brown with white lettering, and small directional tour route signs. Around the visitor center, there are directional arrows painted on the asphalt to direct visitors through the parking lot.

COMMEMORATIVE FEATURES

Most of the park's monuments, markers, and tablets date from between 1900 and 1910 but additions continue up to the present.¹³ They were designed both for instruction and commemoration. Although many of the commemorative features are accessible or at least visible from the park roads, for the most part, they were situated to document historic events at their exact locations rather than as roadside attractions.

The great number of commemorative features reflects the early battlefield park's role as memorial grounds for fallen soldiers and battle veterans. The dedication ceremonies were often scenes of reconciliation that celebrated the shared ideals of the soldiers.¹⁴ Following the example of Gettysburg and Chickamauga, states commissioned Shiloh's monuments, and states or patriotic and veterans organizations designed and paid for them. Monuments had to conform to strict guidelines and receive the approval of the battlefield commission and the War Department before being erected. According to War Department regulations, the monuments had to be made of bronze, granite or "such durable stone," or a combination of the two materials. They had to be erected as precisely as possible on the grounds where state troops actually fought, and the inscriptions had to "be purely historical, be compiled without praise and without censure, and must relate to

¹³ Ray H. Mattison, "Land Acquisitions: Shiloh National Military Park," U.S. Department of Interior, National Park Service Report #1423, 1, SNMP Archives. The most recent dedication ceremony occurred in the summer of 1998 when a plaque was placed at the Indian mounds site.

¹⁴ See George Boge and Margie Holder Boge, *Paving Over the Past: A History and Guide to Civil War Battlefield Preservation* (Washington: Island Press, 1993); Edward Tabor Linenthal, *Sacred Ground: Americans and their Battlefield Parks* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Rainey, "Hallowed Grounds."

the Battle of Shiloh."¹⁵ While the sponsoring organization was responsible for the cost of the monument, the foundations were constructed by the park at its expense.

Although the War Department was conservative about the materials used and messages inscribed, the commissioners admitted a wide range of designs. These include Iowa's 75' tall column capped with a bronze globe and eagle and flanked by a bronze allegorical Fame, the granite foot soldier that comprises the Michigan State Memorial, the granite blocks commemorating Illinois units, and the granite tree stump erected by the Wisconsin Shiloh Monument Commission to commemorate the death of a Private J.D. Putnam from the Fourteenth Wisconsin Volunteer Infantry.¹⁶ There are currently 126 state and regimental monuments in the park.¹⁷

Besides these state and regimental monuments, there are other monuments, markers, and tablets distributed around the landscape. A standardization of design for each type provides clear clues of the event or subject commemorated and creates a visual unity throughout the battlefield landscape. There are five mortuary monuments to commemorate officers who were killed or mortally wounded in the battle. Each mortuary monument consists of an 18' concrete base with a pyramid of 8" cannonballs at each corner and a single cannon standing erect in the middle. Besides noting where key officers fell in combat, park officials also identified the known mass graves and burial grounds of both northern and southern soldiers. There are five Confederate burial trenches outlined by rectangular concrete borders decorated with 10" artillery shells. The Union burial grounds, from which the bodies were removed and reinterred in the National Cemetery in

¹⁵ "Regulations regarding the Erection of Monuments, Tablets, and Markers in SNMP," August 1, 1899. In Record Group 92, War Department, Series 712: Records of the Cemeterial Commissions, 1893-1916, Shiloh National Military Park Commission General Correspondence, Chiefly Letters Received, 1895-1911, Box 2, National Archives and Records Administration. (This citation in all proceeding footnotes will appear as RG 92, Series 712, NARA.)

¹⁶ Albert Dillahunt, *Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee*, National Park Service Historical Handbook Series No. 10, (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1955; reprint, 1961), 24-27.

¹⁷ Statistics regarding monuments and markers are garnered from *Map of Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee*, 1995.

the late 1860s, are noted only by small, simple cast iron plaques.

There are also fifteen monuments that denote Union headquarter sites. Each is characterized by a large pyramid of 8" shells on a concrete base. The smaller sized monuments mark brigade headquarters while the larger indicate division headquarters. The significant artillery positions are represented around the park by over two hundred cannon mounted on cast iron carriages. All cannon are artifacts of the Civil War and at least two were actually used in the battle at Shiloh.¹⁸ Initially, the iron artillery gun carriages were made by Ross-Meehan Foundry Company of Chattanooga for \$65.00 each.¹⁹

The cast-iron historic tablets are coded by shape, size, and color and so serve as icons of the subjects described. Rectangular tablets identify the actions of the first day; oval tablets the second day. Each of the armies is represented by a separate color (blue for the Army of the Tennessee, yellow for the Army of the Ohio, and red for the Army of the Mississippi). There are currently 466 position markers, including 261 for the Army of the Tennessee, thirty-four for the Army of the Ohio, and 171 for the Army of the Mississippi. Eighty-three tablets noting Federal campsites, and thirty-nine general historical markers are also dispersed around the park.²⁰ Three general historical markers, noting the typology of the park signage, are located at Shiloh Church, at the visitor center, and at the Iowa State Monument.²¹

Because of the standardization of design, most commemorative features are recognizable from a passing vehicle. In most cases, however, visitors must leave their vehicles to read the

¹⁸ According to Stacy Allen, Shiloh Park historian, one is located in the museum exhibits and the other on the field where the battery to which it was assigned saw action.

¹⁹ Shiloh National Military Park Commission, "Report of the Work Done on Shiloh National Military Park during the Year ending October 31, 1901," SNMP Archives. (All proceeding annual reports will be cited as "Annual Report, [year].")

²⁰ The statistics were garnered from the *Map of Shiloh National Military Park, Shiloh, Tennessee*, 1995.

²¹ Annual Report, 1899. SNMP Archives.

inscriptions. There are areas in the park, such as Johnston's mortuary monument, the largest Confederate burial trench, and the cluster of monuments at the intersection of Sunken Road and Eastern Corinth Road, where small loop roadways were created by the park or were maintained by the park after visitors' persistent excursions to these sites dug tracks on the ground. There are many asphalt or gravel pull-off areas for visitors to park vehicles and view the battlefield without interrupting traffic flow. In the early years, visitors simply pulled carriages and wagons to the side of the road or simply drove off the road to visit features and sites.²²

BATTLE SCENARIO AND SIGNIFICANCE²³

Due to its remoteness, Shiloh might seem like an unlikely site for a pivotal battle in the Civil War. The strategic importance of this tiny enclave lay in its location along the Tennessee River and its proximity to Corinth, Mississippi, a crossroads of two railroads, the Memphis & Charleston and the Mobile & Ohio. The Memphis & Charleston Railroad was especially important to the South as a communication link and supply line between the East and the Mississippi River valley. Union forces used Pittsburg Landing as a base of operations for a projected attack on Corinth, twenty-two miles to the south. Confederate forces did not wait for the Union advance on the strategic town and, instead, surprised the National Army in its camp.

Though not the first major military engagement of the Civil War, the Battle of Shiloh was the largest and bloodiest to that date. Some historians claim that the immense number of casualties at Shiloh brought the horrors of war home to the American populace for the first time.²⁴ The total number of casualties at Shiloh exceeded the combined casualties for all previous American wars,

²² Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

²³ Major sources for a chronicle of battle events used include Stacy D. Allen, "Shiloh!: The Campaign and the First Day's Battle," *Blue & Gray*, XIV, no. 3 (Winter 1997); Stacy D. Allan, "Shiloh!: The Second Day's Battle and Aftermath," *Blue & Gray*, XIV, no. 4 (Spring 1997); Thomas L. Connelly, *Civil War Tennessee: Battles and Leaders* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1979); Dillahunt, *Shiloh National Military Park*; and correspondence between Stacy Allen and the project historian, August 1999.

²⁴ See, for example, Horwitz, *Confederates in the Attic*.

including the Revolutionary War, the War of 1812, and the Mexican War.²⁵ Of the total force of approximately 110,000 troops engaged at Shiloh, nearly 24,000 were killed, wounded or captured.

In February, 1862, two months prior to the Battle of Shiloh, Union forces under the leadership of General Ulysses S. Grant captured Fort Henry and Fort Donelson on the Tennessee and Cumberland Rivers. This forced the Confederate Army of the West, under the leadership of General Albert Sidney Johnston, to abandon Kentucky and Tennessee and withdraw south. The Union victory opened up a navigable water route for the Federals into the heart of the western Confederacy.

Johnston retreated to Corinth, Mississippi, to reorganize his forces in order to protect the vital southern railways. By the end of March, 54,000 Confederate troops had gathered around Corinth, the largest assemblage of Confederate troops yet.²⁶ U.S. forces attempted to cut the Memphis & Charleston line east of Corinth but failed due to inclement weather. They were ordered to camp at Pittsburg Landing and wait for reinforcements. Grant, who was in command of 40,000 Union troops (effective strength), apparently chose the site because it had creeks on its north and south sides that provided natural barriers against attack.²⁷ Grant himself was quartered in Savannah, Tennessee, nine miles by river to the north. He was ordered by his superior, General Halleck, not to advance on Corinth until General Don Carlos Buell's army arrived from Nashville.

Instead of waiting for another Union attack, the Confederate leaders decided to take the offensive and destroy Grant's army before it received Buell's reinforcements. Johnston hoped to separate Grant's army from its base on the river, drive it north

²⁵ Correspondence with Shiloh historian, Stacy Allen, August 1999.

²⁶ According to Allen, 54,257 Confederate troops were present at Corinth but only 44,699 were used in the battle. Correspondence with Shiloh historian, Stacy Allen, August 1999.

²⁷ According to Allen, "Grant had 58,639 men present in the Army, however, only 39,830 were present for duty at Pittsburg Landing on the morning of April 6. Sickness within the Army and the detachment of Lew Wallace at Crump's Landing reduced the effective strength at Pittsburg." Correspondence with Shiloh historian, Stacy Allen, August 1999.

against Owl Creek, and then defeat it. The attack was planned for April 4 but heavy rains delayed the march north. Finally, in the early morning of April 6, a U.S. patrol engaged the Confederates deployed for battle one mile south of Shiloh Church, and the battle began.

During the first hours of battle, the Southerners advanced steadily. They were stalled by a strong defense around Shiloh Church on Corinth Road, which was considered a key position because the road served as the most direct route to the landing. By early afternoon, Johnston's main battle strategy was faltering as his troops drove the Union forces directly toward rather than away from the landing. Johnston was killed near the now-famous peach orchard, near Sarah Bell Field, as he attempted to direct attacks against the Union left.

Despite the loss of Johnston and thousands of troops, the left and right wings of the Confederate Army continued to gain ground. In the late afternoon, however, progress was stopped by elements of three Union divisions positioned in a thicket along the edge of a road, now known as the Sunken Road. The site of the conflict was later nicknamed the Hornet's Nest by the Confederate survivors due to the whizzing sound of bullets and shrapnel that filled the air. The Union troops held the line of defense for about two hours against the Confederate onslaught. Nearly surrounded, the Union line retired toward the landing. Although 2,000 Federal troops were cut off and taken prisoner, their stand caused an important delay in the Confederate advance. Grant's army regrouped to the north of a strong neutral line of defense. This last line halted the final Confederate attack as darkness ended further combat.

The first day of the battle ended with a Confederate assumption of victory. General Beauregard, who assumed command after Johnston's death, believed that Buell's Army would not reach the battlefield in time and thus the Southern troops could easily finish off Grant's forces the next day.

Unknown to the Confederate leader, Buell's men and other reinforcements from General Lew Wallace's division from Crump's Landing added thousands of fresh troops to the Union forces during the night of April 6 and early morning of April 7. On the second day of battle, the Union forces became the aggressors and forced Beauregard's troops steadily back. After several hours of fighting around Shiloh Church, the final Confederate counterattack was repulsed at Water Oaks Pond. Overpowered,

Beauregard was forced to withdraw south. The following morning, April 8, Federal troops briefly reconnoitered the Confederate forces as they walked back to Corinth. Recognizing that the Southern troops were in retreat and no longer a threat, the victorious U.S. forces returned to Shiloh.

After burying the battlefield dead and reorganizing and fortifying the troops, Union General Halleck led a successful campaign to seize Corinth, which was abandoned by Confederate forces on May 30. The loss of the town meant that the Confederates no longer controlled the Memphis & Charleston Railroad. After the fall of Memphis on June 6, 1862, all of Tennessee west of the Cumberland Mountains was in Federal hands.

PARK HISTORY

A battlefield and a park might conjure up quite different images--the former a place of violence, anguish, and destruction, and the latter a place of enjoyment, beauty, and serenity. In the late nineteenth century, the two ideas came together, however, with the creation of national battlefield parks. Nearly thirty years after the last cannon of the Civil War was fired, Congress passed legislation to fund the purchase of lands that were once the sites of significant military conflicts and make them accessible to the American people as object lessons in American patriotism, heroism, and history. Rather than simply developing small memorial parks that commemorated but did not reconstruct the battle sites (which several argued for at the time), most battlefield parks encompassed thousands of acres that covered almost the entire fields of action. Parks were created out of these tracts by reestablishing landscape patterns at the time of the battles and marking the areas with plaques and monuments to document and commemorate the tactical events and their participants.

Although replicating the landscape at the time of the battle was integral to the design and intent of the parks, some historic accuracy was sacrificed so that the landscapes would more profoundly reflect the parks' nationalistic and commemorative purposes. The wartime landscapes of ramshackle farmhouses, shaggy fields and forests, and rutted dirt roads were beautified and improved so the sites could inspire national pride. Late nineteenth-century ideas of natural beauty established in earlier public parks, such as well-groomed forests, scenic vistas, broad open spaces, and picturesque roadside features were incorporated into the landscape. The park roads, with their innovative designs and materials, were testaments to American ingenuity as

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
HAER No. TN-37
(Page 128)

Record Group 92: War Department. Series 713: Letterbook of the Shiloh National Military Park Commission. (A volume that contains transcripts of letters).

Record Group 92: War Department. Series 714: Shiloh Battlefield Commission, Letters Received February 1895-. A volume listing correspondence with brief descriptions of each letter.

Listed below are significant unpublished reports located within the two series:

War Department. "Regulations Regarding the Erection of Monuments, Tablets, and Markers in Shiloh National Military Park."
August 1, 1899.

National Archives and Record Administration, College Park,
Maryland

Record Group 33: National Park Service Files regarding the War Department. Materials and duplicates of documents at the Shiloh National Military Park Archives.

Bureau of Public Roads photographs.

Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

War Department Annual Reports, 1862-1901 (partial run), microfilm 06905, and a few other published sources.

The Shiloh National Cemetery was located on approximately ten acres of land adjacent to the Tennessee River at Pittsburg Landing, the most convenient access to the site at the time. The cemetery design merged a grid pattern with a circle. It is a much more geometric arrangement than the picturesque national cemetery design at Gettysburg that preceded Shiloh by three years. Due to the steepness of the river bluff, the elaborate gold-highlighted front gates did not face the river, but were placed on the west side of the enclosure where two roads leading from the river merged at the top of the hill into a single lane heading west. The northernmost road, whose trace is still evident in the landscape, was made obsolete in the 1930s when the cemetery enclosure was expanded and the road was encompassed within the fence. The southern road survives (with alterations) as the current route connecting Pittsburg Landing to the park administrative headquarters. The cemetery design included walkways, but no roadways, within a stone wall enclosure.

The vast majority of the bodies of Union soldiers were exhumed and reinterred at the cemetery between 1866 and the end of 1868. Except for the bodies of two Confederate prisoners-of-war, most of the 1,728 Confederate troops killed at Shiloh remain buried in several mass graves on the battlefield. The nearly 3,900 interments currently in the National Cemetery also include veterans of other wars (including a few female veterans of World War II and the Korean War) and several wives of the deceased service men. Shiloh Battlefield Commission Chairman Cornelius Cadle noted that prior to the construction of the park, "The place, though it is not in any sense accessible, is visited by a considerable number of persons each year."²⁹

NATIONAL MILITARY PARK DEVELOPMENT, 1863-1895

While Shiloh veterans spearheaded the transformation of the Shiloh battlefield and cemetery into a military park in the 1890s, their efforts reflected a national crusade to commemorate the war rather than a local, insular movement. Historian Reuben Rainey divides Civil War battlefield preservation into three phases: the creation of national cemeteries in the 1860s, the purchase and restoration of battlefield sites by private citizen groups in the same decade, and the transfer of their administration and maintenance to the War Department in the

²⁹ Cornelius Cadle to the Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, March 18, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

1890s.³⁰ Although the idea of the cemeteries being under the auspices of the War Department was rarely challenged, there was considerable debate over the appropriateness and feasibility of the agency managing national parks. In 1933, seventeen years after the National Park Service was established, the battlefield parks were transferred to the civilian agency, marking another phase in their evolution. Shiloh National Military Park was the third of five Civil War battlefields to be designated a national park under the auspices of the War Department in the 1890s. Although the establishment of Shiloh, Chickamauga, and Antietam as national parks preceded Gettysburg, the commemorative work that began in Gettysburg shortly after the battle in 1863 set the precedent and standards for other battlefield parks.³¹

Immediately after the battle of Gettysburg, which was fought July 1-3, 1863, a group of local citizens began to preserve the field of conflict as a memorial to the Union army's struggle and victory. The following year, the Gettysburg Battlefield Association was chartered with the mission to "hold and preserve the battlefield of Gettysburg and by such perpetuation, and such memorial structures as a generous and patriotic people may aid to erect, to commemorate the heroic deeds, the struggles, and the triumphs of their brave defenders."³² After the war, reunions of veterans from many northern states strengthened the cause and, with monetary donations from their state governments, assisted in the purchase of battlefield lands and monuments. In the 1880s, the U.S. Congress voted to appropriate funds for the historical study and survey of the battlefield, including the Southern positions which initially were omitted from the memorial grounds.³³ In addition, progress was made toward the federally-sponsored commemoration of significant Revolutionary War sites.

³⁰ Rainey, "Hallowed Grounds."

³¹ Battlefields preserved by the government were given the designations of national battlefield parks, national military parks, national battlefields, national battlefield sites, and national cemeteries. Distinctions between them relate to size and date of origin.

³² Gettysburg Memorial Association charter; quoted in Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*, 90.

³³ See Ronald Lee, *The Origin and Evolution of the National Military Park Ideal* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1973).

The path to the federal ownership and operation of battlefields took another important turn in the 1880s when the Custer Battlefield National Cemetery in Montana (the site of the Battle of Little Bighorn in 1876) was expanded to include the entire battle ground. Instead of continually exhuming soldiers' remains in the vicinity of the cemetery and re-interring them in the burial grounds, the War Department opted to enlarge the reserve to include the whole battlefield site, thereby setting the stage for the preservation of other fields of combat.³⁴ After this precedent, an act to establish a national park at Gettysburg went before Congress in 1890. Due to delays relating to the acquisition of land titles, it was not passed until February 11, 1895.

The Chickamauga and Chattanooga Battlefield Association was not established until 1889, but the legislation to make the site a national park passed only a year later, technically making it the first national military park. The act passed quickly through Congress, in part due to the argument that it would provide an ideal field school for tactical warfare. According to the act, the site had "importance to the nation as an object lesson of what is possible in American fighting and the national value of the preservation of such lines for historical and professional study must be apparent to all reflecting minds."³⁵ Perhaps influenced by the new trend at Gettysburg to incorporate the movements of both armies and, more obviously, by its location in the South, the park was designed from the start as a memorial to the entire conflict, not just the actions of the Union troops.

The movement to restore and commemorate the actual fields of conflict as national parks in the 1890s reflected many cultural currents. The key justification for the transfer of privately-owned lands to the federal government for the creation of battlefield parks was given in a Supreme Court ruling in 1896 that stated that the preservation of the Gettysburg battlefield was "so closely connected with the welfare of the republic itself as to be within the power granted by Congress by the Constitution for the purpose of protecting and preserving the whole

³⁴ Boge and Boge, *Paving Over the Past*, 17-18.

³⁵ U.S. Congress, House of Representatives, Committee on Military Affairs, *Chickamauga Battlefield*, Report No. 643, 51st Cong., 1st sess., 5, quoted in Lee, *Origins and Evolution*, 30.

country."³⁶ Because the parks were not just commemorative of local history but celebrated residents of other states who participated in the battles, their character was national. Besides being considered a public good and representative of national interests, the federal operation of battlefield parks was also supported because of the government's ability to supply the financial resources and the manpower needed to maintain the parks compared to what much smaller private groups could muster.

Although there was a greater focus on the participants and actions of the Union forces in the early battlefield parks, the creation of the parks in the 1890s related in many ways to ideas of "national reunification."³⁷ Since the political and economic divisions that shattered the United States at mid-century, most importantly the issue of slavery, were somewhat reconciled, the prevailing ideologies concerning the war's significance shifted from what drew the people of the two regions apart to what united them together as Americans. The notion that all the men were fighting for American ideals, such as economic freedom and political independence, was espoused. The courageous foot soldier from either side of the Mason-Dixon line became an heroic manifestation of the American character at a time when many felt threatened by the large scale immigration from abroad. This nativism found expression in the establishment of many patriotic organizations at the turn of the century, such as the Daughters of the American Republic and the American Historical Association.³⁸

As J.B. Jackson noted in *The Necessity for Ruins*, the battlefield parks also represented new forms of national memorials, that is, ones that commemorated the actions of average citizens, rather than celebrity leaders.³⁹ Shiloh National Military Park Battlefield Commission Chairman Cornelius Cadle received a letter in 1903 that clearly articulated Jackson's assertion. It stated,

Every citizen who takes an interest in the public

³⁶ *United States v. Gettysburg Electric Ry. Co.*, 160 U.S. 668 (1896), quoted in Lee, *Origins and Evolution*, 15.

³⁷ Boge and Boge, *Paving Over the Past*, 18.

³⁸ Rainey, "The Memory of War," 73.

³⁹ John Brinkerhoff Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts, 1980), 94.

affairs of this country, must see in that work a service rendered that is in every way historic, and need not, in any way, perpetuate the bitterness of that strife; but perpetuate the glory and renown of America's heroic sons, and kindle in them an inspiring reverence for American Manhood, which in the individual soldier on that field, displayed itself in perhaps as marked a manner as on any in that great war.⁴⁰

The Battle of Shiloh, in particular, is noted not for brilliant military generalship but for the fortitude of the common soldier, many of whom were inexperienced recruits. The numerous Civil War monuments in small towns around the country and on the battlefields that depict a generic foot soldier rather than a particular officer further attest to this change in perspective. The glorification of the "American Manhood" is obviously more than just an expression of class consciousness but of a masculine ideal, too. It can be seen as an articulation of the turn-of-the-century's cult of masculinity which celebrated male bravado and physical prowess at a time when such qualities were considered threatened by the changing conditions of the modern industrialized and urban world.⁴¹

The veneration of battlefields was perhaps also in keeping with the long tradition of associating native lands with American national identity. Since Europeans' arrival on the continent, and especially during the Jeffersonian era, the land has been intricately linked to the mythical qualities of American democratic life, such as independence, fortitude, and equality. The pastoral landscape, in particular, which was recreated in most battlefield parks by combining historical data and contemporary landscape aesthetics, was a cultural icon that might have exemplified these old American myths.⁴²

⁴⁰ Luke W. Finlay to Cornelius Cadle, April 24, 1903, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

⁴¹ See David Shi, *The Simple Life: Plain Living and High Thinking in American Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); William H.H. Murray, *Adventures in the Wilderness* (Boston: Fields, Osgood & Co., 1869); and Theodore Roosevelt, *Outdoor Pastimes of an American Hunter* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905).

⁴² For scholarly works regarding the American veneration of the pastoral landscape see Hans Huth, *Nature and the American: Three*

More pragmatically, national battlefield parks were established during the 1890s because many Civil War veterans were in positions of political power and their private issues became topics of national importance and debate. By establishing the parks, they were protecting and defining their legacy. The parks served as solemn personal and national reminders of momentous events in the lives of the veterans and their families. They were also stages for personal and national reconciliation of past wounds and divisions. Over the years, the meanings and the designs of the parks changed to reflect evolving interpretations and perceptions of the war. After the death of the last veteran, the parks were obviously less important as places of private healing than as places of historic and national memory. Some historians would argue that the parks overemphasized the hand-to-hand combat and never went far enough in communicating the less romantic and more gruesome parts of the war or addressing the larger issues of race and national identity that framed the conflict.⁴³

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK DEVELOPMENT, 1893-1905

Unlike the other early battlefield parks, including Chickamauga and Chattanooga (founded in 1890), Antietam (founded in 1890), Gettysburg (founded in 1895), and Vicksburg (founded in 1899), Shiloh was far from any major population center. It was not easily accessible by railroad, ferry, or road and therefore offered little economic incentive as a tourist stop like the other sites. As Cornelius Cadle, Chairman of the SNMP Battlefield Commission, noted in 1895, "Pittsburg Landing is...about as much out of the world as any part of the United

Centuries of Changing Attitudes (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957); Myra Jehlen, *American Incarnation: The Individual, The Nation, The Continent* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1986); Leo Marx, *The Machine in the Garden: Technology and the Pastoral Ideal in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1964); and Thomas Bender, *Towards an Urban Vision: Ideas and Institutions in Nineteenth Century America* (Lexington: The University Press of Kentucky, 1975), to name a few.

⁴³ See, for example, Linenthal, *Sacred Ground*.

States."⁴⁴ Tourists rarely happened on to the park but usually traveled hours to visit it. Even today, the site is nearly an hour drive by car from the nearest city.

Historical, geographical, and political reasons combined to justify the appropriation of money for such an inaccessible site. At the end of the twentieth century, it is difficult to appreciate the contemporary significance of the Battle of Shiloh. The horrific number of casualties at Shiloh was a psychological shock to the American populace at the time. It became an important American landmark because it epitomized the trauma and brutality of the war. The site was also selected, as the act to establish it stated, "in order that the armies of the southwest which served in the Civil War, like their comrades of the eastern armies at Gettysburg and those of the central west at Chickamauga, may have the history of one of their memorable battles preserved on the ground where they fought."⁴⁵ Troops from Alabama, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kentucky, Louisiana, Michigan, Ohio, and Tennessee, among others, fought at Shiloh. Several veterans from the battle became influential political leaders who helped usher the legislation through Congress despite some critics' doubts about the merit of making the site a military park. Iowa Congressman David Bremner Henderson, who sponsored the bill, fought in Corinth. Other well-known veterans who participated in the Shiloh park movement include General John A. McClernand, an Illinois politician, Colonel John Thayer, one of Nebraska's first two senators and later the governor, and Tennessee Senator Isham Harris, to name a few.⁴⁶ The effort also had the support of the Grand Army of the Republic and the Society of the Army of the Tennessee, two powerful Civil War veterans organizations.

As with the organization of other battlefield parks, the first efforts to establish SNMP were made by a group of veterans. Unlike most other parks, however, the relations between the private association and War Department Commission were

⁴⁴ Cornelius Cadle to George Davis, April 15, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁴⁵ Public Resolution No. 9, An Act to Establish a National Military Park at the Battlefield of Shiloh, approved December 27, 1894.

⁴⁶ Bernard T. Campbell, *Shiloh National Military Park* (Memphis: Shiloh Military Trail, Inc.; reprint, *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*, XXI, no. 1, March 1962), 7.

contentious. Following the model of the Gettysburg Battlefield Memorial Association, the Shiloh Battlefield Association (SBA) was organized to lobby Congress to fund the purchase of lands and establish a national military park at the site of the battle. A reunion of Shiloh veterans which took place at Pittsburg Landing in April 1893 marked the organization's inception. The veterans were not only concerned about national recognition of the site but also about the proper interment of their fallen comrades who were continually unearthed by local farmers.⁴⁷

In the spring of 1894, E.T. Lee, the secretary of the SBA, visited the site. He made a preliminary survey and map of the land to determine the boundaries of the battlefield, and took options on 2,300 acres from several landowners whose property was believed to be a part of the historic battlefield.⁴⁸ These contracts, which set the price per acre for lands to be purchased by a future date, were negotiated in order to avoid the inflated land prices that plagued Gettysburg Park organizers after their site was declared a national park. The average purchase price agreed upon was \$12.00 per acre, much higher than the normal selling price for the area.⁴⁹ The price negotiated included \$8.00 to be paid to the landowner and \$4.00 to be paid to Lee via the SBA. The arrangement was strongly criticized by the commission and it eventually led to Lee's expulsion from the SBA.

Meanwhile, Iowa Congressmen D.B. Henderson introduced the Shiloh Park legislation before Congress. After nine months, the bill was signed into law by President Grover Cleveland on December 27, 1894, with the stipulation that Congress provide \$75,000 for the construction of the park instead of the \$150,000 requested.⁵⁰ There was some opposition to the park in the popular press and at the War Department. Arguments against it included the redundancy of establishing another military park in the western theater,

⁴⁷ Charles E. Shedd, Jr., *A History of Shiloh National Military Park, Tennessee* (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1954), 13.

⁴⁸ It is not explicitly stated how Lee conducted the survey but, like the Shiloh Battlefield Commission, he probably based his findings on old maps and descriptions of the battlefield, along with on-site observation and evidence.

⁴⁹ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 24.

⁵⁰ Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 33.

especially one that was so remote, and the great expense of establishing and preserving another entire battlefield as opposed to a smaller memorial site.⁵¹ Brigadier General George B. Davis, the Chairman of the War Department's Commission for Publication of the *Official Records for the War of the Rebellion*, stated before Congress,

The Shiloh field is very inaccessible; indeed, you can not buy a ticket to the Shiloh battlefield. You can get within 20 miles of it, and then you must hire a team to reach the field. For this reason it is less convenient than Chattanooga, for example, for purpose of instruction. It is a flat, uninteresting field, without any striking natural features. Antietam and Gettysburg in the East and Chickamauga in the West would answer all the needs of technical military instruction at the present time, and would also meet the needs of the War College."⁵²

Although these complaints resurfaced for decades, none hindered the construction of the park. Following the model of other parks, three commissioners, each a veteran of the battle, were appointed by the Secretary of War Daniel Lamont to administer the park. Shiloh was unique in having a representative from the Confederate army. The commissioners included Colonel Cornelius Cadle, who represented the Army of the Tennessee and who served as the chairman of the commission until 1910, General Don Carlos Buell, who represented the Army of the Ohio, and Colonel Robert F. Looney, who represented the Army of the Mississippi. Major D.W. Reed, who fought at Shiloh, was appointed secretary/historian, Atwell Thompson, was transferred from his post as engineer at Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park to work at Shiloh, and Captain James W. Irwin, from Savannah, Tennessee, was named land agent.

PRE-PARK LANDSCAPE

⁵¹ See Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 19-21, for an overview of the opposition.

⁵² From "Statement of Brigadier-General George B. Davis, of Washington, D.C.," *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Parks of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives* (Washington, D.C.: 1902), 1, quoted in Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 21.

Hardin County was formed in 1819 but most of the earliest land titles date to the 1840s.⁵³ The area's poor soil discouraged the development of large plantations which occupied many other locations in antebellum western Tennessee. The land was, instead, divided into small farms that produced mostly corn and some cotton. Davis noted that the corn was primarily used as hog feed. He reported seeing "hogs... everywhere over the field, and as they seem to roam at large through this country."⁵⁴ The few houses scattered around the area were "of exceedingly flimsy construction" and none, with the exception of one log cabin, were considered to be of historic significance.⁵⁵ The majority of the area's road system was most likely developed in the twenty year period between the 1840s, the time of greatest influx of population and settlement, and the Civil War, after which the population began to dissipate. Corinth Road developed after the railroads were laid down in the town of Corinth, Mississippi, in the 1850s. Likewise, the roads leading to Pittsburg and Brown's Landings were undoubtedly linked to the establishment of these rural river ports.

Soon after his first trip to Shiloh in 1895, Brigadier General Davis noted, "The surface of the field, has changed much in detail, but little in its general aspect," since the battles. He added, "There are occasional small clearings, very few of them which existed during the battle; the clearings and open spaces of that time having grown up to small timber."⁵⁶ Park organizers in the 1890s observed that the battlefield was on "an unsightly tract of land" and that "the locality is absolutely destitute...of the simplest necessities."⁵⁷ The conditions that

⁵³ Mattison, "Land Acquisitions," 1.

⁵⁴ George Davis to Cornelius Cadle, September 27, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁵⁵ George Davis to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, March 18, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ First quotation from U.S. Congress, House, Committee on Military Affairs, *National Military Park at the Battlefield of Shiloh*, Report No.1139, 53rd Cong., 2nd sess., quoted in Lee, *Origins and Evolution*, 33; second quotation from "Draft of Report by [Don Carlos] Buell on Procedures to Acquire Land," to Secretary Of War Daniel Lamont, June 14, 1895. RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

the park commissioners found at Shiloh were typical of many other rural regions in the South at the end of the war. An exodus of many rural people to the cities commonly left behind an impoverished landscape of abandoned farms and roads.

The remoteness and inaccessibility of the site greatly concerned the park commissioners. Davis' 1895 report provides a good overview of the local transportation systems before the creation of the park. "The roads," he noted:

are what are known as dirt roads. They are badly kept, and are almost impassable in wet weather. They are built to enable farmers residing at a distance from the Tennessee to reach the river landing, which was, and is, the ordinary means of communication with the outside world. There is an abundance of gravel at different points on the field, out of which fair roads could be made, but the inhabitants have never availed themselves of it as a road material. The railroad is the Memphis & Ohio, which is reached at Selma, TN, about 16 miles from Pittsburg Landing. Corinth, at the junction of the Memphis & Chattanooga and the Memphis & Ohio railroads is distant 22 miles from the battlefield. Such small commerce as is maintained with the outside world is carried on the boats on the Tennessee River, and there are lines from St. Louis, Evansville, Indiana and Johnsonville, Tennessee which make landings several times per week.⁵⁸

Compared to 1862, there were many fewer secondary roads (particularly between Bark Road and Pittsburg-Corinth Road) in the late 1890s, although some were added.⁵⁹ The primary roads, such as Hamburg-Savannah Road, Pittsburg-Corinth Road, Hamburg-Purdy Road, and Eastern Corinth Road, remained basically intact. However, there is evidence of some realignment. These changes in the local road system, that is, the loss of secondary roads, the strong presence of old roads, and the decrease in new road construction, indicate that there was a decline in population and

⁵⁸ George Davis to Daniel Lamont, March 18, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁵⁹ This assertion is based on a comparison of Bearss' 1973 historical base map and Thompson's map of the terrain as it existed in 1897. Both are located in the SNMP Archives.

farmsteads, and a concomitant stagnation of economic conditions following the end of the Civil War.

LAND SURVEYS AND MAPMAKING

Due to the primitive conditions and remote location of Shiloh, the commissioners remained in their respective homes in the midwest, making short annual visits to the park. Only Thompson, the engineer, and Irwin, the land agent, and their small support staff occupied make-shift posts at the site of the battlefield. Most of the park business was conducted by mail between the commissioners' homes, Pittsburg Landing, and the War Department headquarters in Washington, D.C.

Although SNMP was established in December 1894, improvements did not actually begin until 1898 because of delays caused by the isolated nature of the park and complications regarding land acquisitions. The SNMP act called for "the condemnation or purchase of land, marking the boundaries of the park, opening or repairing necessary roads, [and] restoring the field to its condition at the time of the battle," none of which could be accomplished until the War Department had documented the historic landscape, surveyed the contemporary landscape, and received titles to all appropriate lands.⁶⁰

The first federal presence on the land since the time of the battle was in February 1895, when Irwin made a horseback inspection of the region. With the aid of the county surveyor, he roughly determined the outer limits of the battle and contemporary property lines within a month. His work was probably based, in part, on the Shiloh Battlefield Association's earlier assessments. The following month, Major-General George Davis, the head of the War Office Records, visited the park. Davis was pessimistic about the feasibility of recreating the battlefield at Shiloh. He stated, "The task of identifying and marking the positions will be attended with great and exceptional difficulties. The change in the wooded and cleared surface, the destruction of buildings, which might have served as landmarks, the shifting character of the fight of the first day and the meager and unsatisfactory character of the official reports, all

⁶⁰ "An Act to Establish a National Military Park at the Battlefield of Shiloh," December 27, 1894. SNMP Archives.

contribute to the difficulty of the undertaking."⁶¹

Despite Davis' discouraging words, the commissioners and the historian D.W. Reed met at Pittsburg Landing on April 2, 1895. Their first concern was the creation of a topographic map that expanded on Lee's and Irwin's earlier field work. From this base map, which was executed under the direction of the engineer Atwell Thompson, natural landscape features, contemporary roads, and contemporary property boundaries were to be projected. It was the first step toward redefining the historic landscape.

In order to make as precise a base map as possible, Thompson established a grid of chains on the land with lines spaced and staked every 200' from north to south and east to west.⁶² Forty-nine transit lines, measuring between 2 and 3-1/2 miles each, were run across the terrain. All data was cataloged by the stake positions. As one would imagine, running the chains through the overgrown farmland was a challenging task. Local men were hired to cut yard-wide paths through the fields and forests. The work entailed felling trees, clearing brush, positioning the stakes, and running the lines.⁶³ It took from May to October 1895 to complete the job, which proved a great gain to the local economy. According to a local historian, "Around Shiloh, in 1897, cotton sold for a nickel a pound and corn for 20 cents per bushel, when a purchaser could be found. It was, therefore, a great boon to the inhabitants when the Federal Government came in with wages of one dollar for a day's work of only eight hours - hardly more than half a day for a farmer."⁶⁴

By June 1895, all of the contemporary roads were surveyed and Hardin County had granted the commission control over Pittsburg-

⁶¹ George Davis to Secretary of War Daniel Lamont, March 18, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁶² Atwell Thompson, "Report of the Engineer-in-Chief to Accompany Commission's Report for 1896." SNMP Archives.

⁶³ Otis H. Jones, *Building Shiloh Park*, reprinted from *West Tennessee Historical Society Papers*, XXIII, 1969, 9. According to SNMP historian Stacy Allen, the paths were visible for years. Correspondence with HAER historian, August 1999.

⁶⁴ Jones, *Building Shiloh Park*, Forward.

Corinth Road, the road to the landing.⁶⁵ Chairman Cadle noted that, "the line of the road has been somewhat changed since the war, whether by common consent or by the legal action of the County Court, I do not know...."⁶⁶ The county promised to transfer the jurisdiction of all other roads as needed, even though the commission did not yet own the adjacent lands. Cadle reasonably remarked that even if control was not immediately ceded to them, certainly "there will be no objection made" if the conditions of roads were improved.⁶⁷ By October, the topographic survey showing all contemporary natural and cultural features was completed. The finished map was presented to the commission at its annual meeting at Pittsburg Landing the following April of 1896.

After completing the topographic survey, the team began the process of locating and identifying historic landscape patterns and battle positions. Field reconnaissance included investigations for old road traces, field and forest patterns, architectural ruins, and "tent rings, sinks, and other evidences of the camps."⁶⁸ These on-site investigations were combined with examinations of historic documentation including official reports (especially the War Department's War of the Rebellion), personal reminiscences, cemetery records which noted the location of fallen soldiers, and extensive interviews with battle veterans and local residents. Historic maps were, of course, invaluable guides to the historic landscape. They included the Thom map made by order of General Henry Halleck immediately following the battle, the map by Michler, an Engineer Officer for Army of the Ohio, General Grant's sketch map, and the Shiloh Battlefield Association map made by Captain A.T. Andreas under the direction of General Buell. The latter was made in the 1880s as a correction to the earlier Thom and Michler maps.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Shiloh Battlefield Commission Report, June 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁶⁶ Cornelius Cadle to George Davis, May 12, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁶⁷ Ibid.

⁶⁸ Cadle to Davis, September 30, 1896, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁶⁹ Edwin C. Bearss, *Historical Base Map: Shiloh National Military Park & Cemetery, Shiloh, Tennessee* (Denver: Denver Service Center, National Park Service, 1973), 16.

The resulting historic base map, which portrayed the buildings, roads, fields and forests, creeks, and military camps as best the commission could determine they existed in 1862, was completed by the end of 1896. The map became the basis of several other mapping projects created over the next six years, including those identifying troop movements and battle lines. Together these maps were the foundation of the park's landscape design and road system.

PARK DESIGN DEBATE

As Thompson was investigating the historic landscape features, other members of the commission were busy debating the character and limits of the park design with War Department officials in Washington. The commissioners were also negotiating land purchases with local landowners. Even though General Davis noted in August 1895 that "more progress has actually been made by this Commission since its organization than by any of the Commissions thus far created," the decision regarding the actual design of the park remained unresolved.⁷⁰

Both the Gettysburg and Chickamauga and Chattanooga parks encompassed approximately the entire fields of combat, which included over 7,000 acres each.⁷¹ In addition to protecting the unrecovered bodies of fallen soldiers, the aim of acquiring the entire battle grounds was to recreate the historic landscape conditions so that casual visitors and students of military history could thoroughly visualize, appreciate, and learn from the battle events. General Davis stated, "If it is the purpose of Congress to perpetuate this field in the condition in which it was when the battle was fought, it should undertake to perpetuate an agricultural community.... That was its condition in 1862, and that is the condition in which it should be preserved."⁷²

⁷⁰ George Davis, "Memorandum in Relation to the Shiloh Battlefield," August 2, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁷¹ Acreage data for the parks from Lee and HAER's 1998 Gettysburg team members. When Gettysburg was established, it only included 800 acres but the historic base map of the battlefield called for the purchase of 7,000-8,000 acres. The park currently encompasses approximately 6,000 acres.

⁷² House Committee on Military Affairs, *National Military Park Commission*, 1904, Appendix C, 9, quoted in Lee, *Origins and Evolution*, 40.

Although he was speaking specifically about Antietam, General Davis' comment could be applied to any of the parks. The historic terrain, roadways, and other natural and manmade features were considered integral to the understanding, and, by extension, to the memorialization, of the battles. While supportive of the Gettysburg and Chickamauga projects, some officers in the War Department, including Davis himself, questioned the wisdom and practicality of preserving additional battlefields in total, because of the high cost and the frustrations of purchasing, reconstructing, and maintaining such large areas.⁷³ They looked for ways to uphold the spirit of the Congressional decree, while limiting the War Department's liabilities.

In Secretary of War Daniel Lamont's first letter to the Shiloh Battlefield Commission, he recommended

that the Commission should acquire a minimum tract, not exceeding 1500 to 1800 acres, extending along the main roads from the landing to the vicinity of Shiloh Church; that such lines of battle as lie outside this area should be secured by the purchase of strips of land, along which the positions of the several commands can be indicated by suitable tablets or markers. The course of action herein outlined is believed, from experience gained by the Department in the marking of lines on other battlefields, to be the one most conducive to the public interest.⁷⁴

⁷³ In a letter dated September 27, 1895, to Cadle, General Davis stated, "The Chickamauga Commission, - and as well the gentlemen that comprise the Gettysburg Commission, --all have referred quite recently to their apprehensions in regard to the maintenance of their two parks, and realize fully that constant annual appropriations must be made in considerable sums to keep up these large establishments, especially Chickamauga. They realize, also, that the time is quite likely to come when Congress will be unwilling to vote very considerable sums for their purposes; therefore Chickamauga is already trying to induce the Dept to establish a military post on the battlefield there, so that the troops may perform duties of wardens and caretakers. Gen. Sickles had the same hopes and aspirations in regards to Gettysburg...." in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁷⁴ Daniel Lamont to Shiloh Battlefield Commission, March 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 713: Letterbook of the SNMPC, NARA.

General Davis also insisted that it was both impractical and unfeasible for the Shiloh park to encompass the entire field of battle since it required the purchase and maintenance of over 3,000 acres of land, the battle lines were too diffuse to trace, and it was too remote to be useful as a military field school.⁷⁵ He wrote to Cadle, "As a practical question, looking at the not remote future, would it not be far better to obtain a small area which can be cared for by the Superintendent of the cemetery and a few assistants, than to secure a large tract that we cannot fully care for or fence, if fence at all,--that would be a nuisance unless it was fenced [because of the roving livestock], and that quite likely would not be provided for through annual appropriations?"⁷⁶

Like Lamont, he advised that the commissioners adopt the system used at the Antietam battlefield in Sharpsburg, Maryland. At Antietam, partially at his guidance, the War Department only purchased and marked small sections of land that it believed were key to the battle and left the adjoining lands in private hands. Since Sharpsburg was still surrounded by working farms as in the 1860s, it was particularly adaptable to this scheme, which came to be known as the "Antietam plan."⁷⁷ Davis suggested that members of the Shiloh Commission travel to Antietam, so "that they will there see of how little real use it is to make a great investment in land which it is simply impossible to maintain, for any length of time in that climate, in the condition in which it was at the time of the battle...[and] as a result of such a visit, be quite disposed to make a minimum investment in land, buying only enough, indeed, to carry out intellectually and in good faith the will of Congress...."⁷⁸

⁷⁵ From "Statement of Brigadier-General George B. Davis, of Washington, D.C.," *Hearing Before the Subcommittee on Parks of the Committee on Military Affairs, House of Representatives* (Washington, 1902), 1, quoted in Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 21.

⁷⁶ Davis to Cadle, September 27, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁷⁷ For further explanations of the Antietam plan see Boge and Boge, *Paving Over the Past*, 156-157; and Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 40-42.

⁷⁸ George Davis, "Memorandum in Relation to the SBC," August 2, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

The Shiloh Battlefield Commission was not convinced, however. In response to Davis' remarks, Cadle wrote,

the object of supreme importance is the purchase and preservation of the entire field of battle, with the roads and other land marks in existence at the time of the engagement. No amount of adornment on a limit area, would compensate for the absence of a free access to every part of this particular battlefield, which because of the peculiar circumstances of the conflict, excites more individual interest than any other battle of the War. To occupy and embellish a small area, and fail to secure the battlefield in its entirety, would be to invite the public to the scene of a great conflict, and at the same time exclude them from the right to gaze upon it, pointing them instead to a confined cluster of meaningless because misplaced monuments, if anybody would be willing to put them there, to cause the surface to be denuded of timber, and every land-mark of the battle effaced; and to consign the property owner to the unlawful trespass of hordes of visitors, who, with or without authority will continue to go where their inclination leads them, as they do now.⁷⁹

Cadle's arguments must have swayed the War Department because no further discussion of a small memorial park at Shiloh appears in the correspondence. Furthermore, by June 1897, Congress voted to increase the original allocation for land purchases at Shiloh from \$20,000 to \$50,000, clearly signifying support of the battlefield plan.⁸⁰

LAND ACQUISITIONS

Although the views of the War Department and the SBC initially differed on the park plan, both groups adamantly agreed that no work could commence until they had legal title to the lands. The 1896 Annual Report explained that their reason was partially "to prevent the demand for increased prices on account of ... improvements."⁸¹ The first hurdle in the acquisition of park

⁷⁹ Cadle to Lamont, September 27, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁸⁰ Mattison, "Land Acquisitions," 13.

⁸¹ Annual Report, 1896. SNMP Archives.

land was crossed in April 1895, when the state of Tennessee ceded jurisdiction of battlefield lands over to the federal government.⁸² Sorting out local land boundaries and purchase prices would not be as simple or timely. The SNMP Act stated that the park was "under the control and direction of the War Department" which was given authority to acquire land under "[t]he act to establish and to protect National Cemeteries," dated 1867 or "[a]n act to authorize the condemnation of land for sites of public buildings, and for other purposes," dated 1888.⁸³

The battlefield survey revealed that the authorized park boundaries described in the Shiloh Park act actually encompassed over 6,000 acres instead of approximately 3,000 acres, as the act stated.⁸⁴ Based on historic maps and accounts, the commissioners determined that the water was in flood stage at the time of the battle so only the highlands were needed to reconstruct the battlefield. Most farmers divided their land holdings into two tracts, one in the bottom lands that was used for farming and a smaller one on the plateau that was used for living quarters.⁸⁵ The bottom lands precluded human occupation because of the regular flooding of the river and its tributaries. The commissioners decided to eliminate most of the bottom lands from the park, reducing the area of significance to 3,650 acres.⁸⁶ They agreed, however, that "in order to do justice to the owners, [they would] buy several areas that are not essential to the purposes of the park."⁸⁷ Current owners and tenants were allowed to stay on the land as long as they followed the regulations of the War Department and helped maintain the park's landscape configurations and monuments. When they abandoned the property, it was to be transferred to the War Department.

⁸² Senate Bill 377, the act to give land jurisdiction to the United States from the State of Tennessee was approved April 29, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁸³ From "The Act to Establish Shiloh National Military Park." SNMP Archives.

⁸⁴ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 24.

⁸⁵ Davis to Lamont, March 18, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA; and SBC Report, June 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁸⁶ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 50.

⁸⁷ SBC Report, June 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

As previously noted, E.T. Lee of the Shiloh Battlefield Association, acquired options on 2,598 acres of land, divided among thirty-four tracts, at an average price of \$12.00 per acre.⁸⁸ Seventeen lots had not been optioned, including the important Meek property which encompassed Pittsburg Landing. As a Shiloh Park historian noted, the land was essentially the residents' only means of livelihood so giving it up, at any price, was a precarious decision.⁸⁹

Problems began when Lee was angered over being denied a position on the commission and monetary compensation for the work he performed as secretary of the SBA. In retaliation, and to the consternation and disapproval of SBA President John A. McClernand, Lee first demanded that the government pay him \$12.00 an acre for the options, and then he refused to sign the acres over to the SBC for any price.⁹⁰ The commissioners had the choice of taking Lee to court to make him forfeit the options or to simply wait until the contracts expired on March 4, 1896.⁹¹

The commissioners took the latter tack, but the acquisition of lands met further delays from landowners trying to obtain more money from the government than their land was worth. After the Meeks family refused to sell their 180 acres for less than \$25,000 (approximately \$140 per acre), the commission took them to court to have their property condemned.⁹² In June 1896, three months after the options expired, the jury ruled in favor of the government and the Meeks property sold for \$6,000. The results of these proceedings must have convinced other owners that only fair prices would be paid for the land. Most of the other land deals proceeded more quickly.

By the end of 1897, 2,095 acres were purchased at an average cost

⁸⁸ Cadle to Davis, April 15, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁸⁹ Mattison, "Land Acquisitions," 2.

⁹⁰ Cadle to Davis, April 15, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁹¹ Daniel Lamont to Attorney General Judson Harmon, January 17, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁹² Information regarding the early land acquisitions from the SNMP Annual Report, 1896. SNMP Archives.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 49)

of \$10.00 per acre. Over \$15,500 of the SNMP budget was spent on "topography and maps," and only \$18.90 was devoted to roads and bridges.⁹³ The following year, the proportions of time and money spent changed dramatically as the transformation of the farmland into park land began in earnest.

CONSTRUCTION PROGRAM

The main focus of the early battlefield movement was more didactic and commemorative than recreational. SBC statements regarding the park's design and construction highlighted the need for historic restoration and downplayed ideas of entertainment and aesthetics. Observation towers for the viewing of the battlefield were placed at Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Vicksburg and considered at Shiloh, but Cadle contended that other forms of "elaborate ornamentation which is usually to be found in public and private parks, would be wholly out of place and undesirable." He added, "It is not for such artificial attractions that the battle-field parks--the Shiloh Park least of all--will be visited and appreciated."⁹⁴ Park commissioners did not ignore ideas of beauty and ornamentation, however. The overall landscape treatment combined contemporary concepts of public park design with Civil War-inspired motifs and artifacts.

The plan at Shiloh was to reproduce the features of Thompson's historic base map on the land. "With these natural features, as they may be called, of war, etc.," Buell stated, "the Park will exhibit an admirable system of embellishment, based upon the actual conditions which entered into the daily economy of the Army of the Tennessee in its encampments and determined or marked the events of the battle. Of course the restoration of the original boundaries of woods and fields to be ultimately completed by the gradual growth of timber, will be attended to."⁹⁵ In addition, memorials, markers, and tablets were to be erected to identify points of interests. In 1898, the projected

⁹³ From "Statement of the Disbursements of the Shiloh Battlefield Commission to February 28, 1897." SNMP Archives.

⁹⁴ Cadle to Lamont, September 27, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁹⁵ Don Carlos Buell, "Draft of report on procedure to acquire land," June 14, 1895, submitted to Lamont, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

date of completion was June 1901.⁹⁶ It actually took another four years before the commissioners could report that their original objectives were fulfilled.⁹⁷

At Shiloh, the historic roads provided the framework for the incorporation of all other park features. General Buell reported, "The first step should be the restoration of all roads in existence at the time of the battle, public roads, farm roads, and the roads in use for the supply and convenience of the various camps. The public roads, which may be enumerated as the River Road, the West Corinth Road and the Hamburg and Corinth Road, amounting to about 6-7 miles in extent, it is understood to be the intention to macadamize. For the other roads a gravel covering would be sufficient, but in such case whether macadamized or graveled the work should begin with outlining the various roads."⁹⁸

More than any of the other early battlefield parks, SNMP relied on the historic road traces to form the main circulation system in the park. This decision was based on practical as well as philosophical considerations. It also reflected the mistakes and successes of earlier military parks. "The temptation to build [new] roads on battlefields is strong, at first," explained Davis to Cadle, "and needs to be somewhat restrained for you soon discover that they are most misleading to visitors, and are calculated to introduce not a little confusion when they did not exist during the battle."⁹⁹ Secretary of War Daniel Lamont concurred with Davis when he counseled the Shiloh Commissioners, "It may be seriously questioned, also, whether the opening of avenues along the lines of battle, on other fields of the civil war, has not contributed to an erroneous understanding of the military operations, by leading the visitor to believe that the avenues and roads over which he passes were in existence during the battle. In view of these facts, it is suggested that the construction of roads be limited to such as are necessary to reach important centers of operation, and that these be connected, by paths or walks, with the points chosen for marking

⁹⁶ Cadle to Lamont, February 8, 1898, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁹⁷ Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

⁹⁸ Buell Report, June 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

⁹⁹ Davis to Cadle, May 10, 1895. SNMP Archives.

the positions of divisions, brigades and other organizations of the contending armies."¹⁰⁰

As General Davis' words suggest, the roads were important because they were historic vestiges of the 1862 landscape and because they formed the core circulation system in the 3,600 acre park. Approximately twenty-seven miles of roads had to be reconstructed or improved, including country roads that existed at the time of the battle and routes that were created or used by the military forces during the battle, such as Reconnoitering Road.¹⁰¹ Rather than adding new avenues, as was done at Gettysburg, old traces were cleared, widened, and resurfaced. A few smaller roads were created to facilitate access to important sites. Thompson included examples in his reports to Cadle of how old traces were identified and rerouted. Having observed that the southern section of Eastern Corinth Road (known as Curtis Road) deviated from what was depicted on the historic maps, he concluded, "After the war the ground of the Sixteenth Wisconsin Camp was cleared up and filled in. This caused the Eastern Corinth Road to be changed and run through the Spain field which was then open....An examination of the ground enforces this conclusion." He added, "[the current landowner Mr.]Curtis will permit the road to be built on its old bed through his field...."¹⁰²

One of Thompson's criteria for the roads was "that a driver...could carry a hack load of people over that road without making it essential to the comfort of the 'embonpoints' [literally means stoutness or obesity but figuratively, in this context, it means people] to get out and walk...."¹⁰³ Simple gravel surfaces were applied to the main roads instead of the technically-superior macadam or telford surfaces which were used at Gettysburg and Chickamauga. Although the macadam road building process, which entailed the thick layering of crushed stone, was suggested, it was not used in the first phase of construction.¹⁰⁴ Secretary Lamont advised that "a minimum of macadam roads should be constructed. The field is rarely

¹⁰⁰ Lamont to SBC, March 1895. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰¹ Annual Report, 1899, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹⁰² Thompson to DW Reed, SNMP Secretary and Historian, February 2, 1900. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰³ Thompson to D.W. Reed, February 2, 1900. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰⁴ SBC Report, June 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

visited, the expenses of maintenance are great and the climate is such in its effect upon roads as to lead to their rapid deterioration.¹⁰⁵

The expense of transporting the stone, not just the maintenance and construction costs, might have contributed to this decision. Because of the site's remoteness, the price of shipping far exceeded the other parks, increasing the overall cost of construction.¹⁰⁶ No high-quality stone was available near the site, but there were gravel pits within the park boundaries. Crews were hired to drive mule teams with wagon-loads of gravel from the quarry to the road construction sites. By 1905, after eight years of construction, Thompson was convinced that the local gravel was a poor road building material. He recommended the application of a tar covering to the park roads.¹⁰⁷

Roads were created by marking a center line through the trace, clearing the path, roughly grading the surface, adding gravel, and then leveling the area with mule-drawn rollers.¹⁰⁸ Since most of the traces followed the contours of the undulating terrain, extensive grading was not required.¹⁰⁹ General Davis suggested using 18' wide roads, having found that the 12' wide roads in use at Antietam were too narrow.¹¹⁰ Three different types of roads were constructed at Shiloh. The widths were determined by their use. There were "first class" roads that were 20' wide, graveled, ditched and drained, "second class" roads that were 18' wide, graveled but not ditched and drained, and "third class" dirt roads that were 16' wide and not graveled.¹¹¹ In 1899, it was estimated that one mile of first class road cost \$3,500.¹¹²

¹⁰⁵ Lamont to SBC, March 30, 1895, in RG 92, Series 713: Letterbook of the SNMPC, NARA.

¹⁰⁶ Thompson to Cadle, May 25, 1895. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰⁷ Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰⁸ Thompson to Cadle, October 5, 1898. SNMP Archives.

¹⁰⁹ Cadle, "Report for Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1895," in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹¹⁰ Davis to SBC, August 2, 1895, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

¹¹¹ Annual Report, 1899, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹¹² Ibid., NARA.

Many first class roads were lined with gutters made by digging gullies adjacent to the road, filling them with brush and dirt, and then planting Bermuda grass as a cover.¹¹³ Bermuda grass was valued for both its pragmatic and aesthetic qualities. The 1904 Annual Report noted its importance "as a preventative to washing, as an aid in restoring the park to its primitive appearance," and as means of "beautifying" the grounds.¹¹⁴ Willow cuttings were also planted along ditches to help stop erosion.¹¹⁵ Over 5,460' of "well-layered" gutters, including some made of concrete composed of Portland cement and a local conglomerate rock, were constructed from 1898 to 1905.¹¹⁶

Culverts, consisting of steel pipes capped by concrete head walls, were placed at sites where stream beds crossed the paths of the roads. The head walls were produced at an average cost of \$11.42 each.¹¹⁷ Where the sewer pipes were not sufficient to contain the water flow, including at Shiloh Branch and Tilghman Branch on Corinth Road, wooden bridges were erected. Within ten years, these structures were replaced by more resilient concrete ones.

Concurrent with the restoration of the roads was the recreation of the landscape patterns to their 1862 appearance. Cadle noted in 1899, "The fields as they existed are yet apparent, some grown up with trees, that we shall clear to their original condition, and the fields that have been cleared since the war we shall endeavor to restore to their then timbered condition."¹¹⁸ While the park was under the auspices of the War Department, great time and effort was devoted to landscape maintenance. According to the 1901 Annual Report, 2,500 acres needed to be cleared at an average cost of \$10.00 per acre.¹¹⁹ After the initial sweep of the land for trees and underbrush, and the planting of grasses,

¹¹³ Annual Report, 1901. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁴ Annual Report, 1904. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁵ Annual Report, 1903. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁶ Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁷ Annual Report, 1901. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁸ Annual Report, 1899. SNMP Archives.

¹¹⁹ Annual Report, 1901. SNMP Archives.

the park administrators were vigilant about removing sprouts and seedlings, hoeing weeds, and mowing grasses in order to keep the fields and roadsides "in neat, presentable order."¹²⁰ According to a local resident, farmers were permitted to graze their livestock on the newly-formed fields in order to help keep the grass short.¹²¹ Establishing forests in this humid, temperate climate was not nearly as difficult as removing them. Hundreds of seedlings, acorns and a variety of other seeds were successfully planted on open grounds around the park. The trees were densely grouped to create forest canopies and spaciouly planted along roadsides and monuments to form decorative natural ornaments.

CONSTRUCTION, 1898-1905

Like most construction decisions, the plan to begin the road work on the 2-1/2 mile stretch of Pittsburg Corinth Road from the landing to Shiloh Church was based on historical and practical considerations. The road connected two significant cultural landmarks, it crossed through the heart of the field of action, and it led to the main access point for supplies and visitors. The need to open the road was becoming imperative by the winter of 1897 as shipments of cannon, shells, and other "bric-a-brac," as Cadle called the Civil War reproductions, were beginning to arrive at Pittsburg Landing.¹²² In February 1898, he requested \$3,500 from the Secretary of War for a permanent building to replace the staff tents, \$5,000 to improve Pittsburg Landing Road from the landing to Shiloh Church, \$1,000 for clearing brush, and \$1,000 for markers to show important battlefield positions and incidents.¹²³ Eight months later, on October 5, 1898, Engineer Thompson announced to Cadle, "I broke dirt today on the Pittsburg and Corinth Road, commencing on top of the hill near the position of the siege guns using 16 men and 2 carts."¹²⁴ This action marked the inauguration of park road construction.

¹²⁰ Annual Report, 1903. SNMP Archives.

¹²¹ Jones, *Building Shiloh Park*, 10-11.

¹²² Cadle to Davis, Feb 9, 1897, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA. Cadle stated, "There will probably be quite a large reunion at Shiloh on the 6th of April, next, and this [stack of cannon] will make somewhat of a show in the line of 'bric-a-brac.'"

¹²³ Cadle to Lamont, February 8, 1898, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 1, NARA.

¹²⁴ Thompson to Cadle, October 5, 1898, SNMP Archives.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 55)

After a year, eleven miles of "first class" graveled roads, a half mile of "second class" roads, and two and a half miles of "third class" roads were completed. Five hundred and sixty-seven acres were cleared at a cost of \$7.34 per acre. Of the \$64,000 expended on the park to that date, \$35,600 was spent on land and conveyances, \$28,500 on topography and maps, \$5,000 on clearing land, and \$28,000 on roads and bridges.¹²⁵ Besides the two and a half miles of Pittsburg-Corinth Road, the exact locations of the remaining eight and a half miles of improved roads were not identified in the reports or correspondence.

By the end of 1900, Thompson reported, "we will soon wind up the road work in the park proper."¹²⁶ More than twenty of the predicted twenty-seven miles of roads in the park were completed. For the next five years, most of the additional road work consisted of extending the length of new roads, constructing a few new roads, improving drainage, and adding bridges and culverts.

Two roads were improved in 1901, neither of which is still maintained in the park. One of these roads ran from the west side of the Bloody Pond south along the east side of Davis' wheat field to Hamburg-Purdy Road, and the other was a 1,000' long second class road that followed an historic trace along the northern border of the cemetery to Shiloh or Lower Landing.¹²⁷ According to Cadle, this latter road "serves the purpose of deflecting all heavy traffic from Pittsburg Landing to the lower landing, thus preserving the former which has been put in first class condition and laid down with Bermuda grass."¹²⁸

The 1901 Annual Report also noted that a 12' long wooden bridge was built over Tilghman branch on Corinth Road and 183 head walls for sewer pipes were constructed. Three hundred trees were planted and 450 acres were cleared, making 1,630 total acres cleared since the park's inception. Besides adorning the park with seventy-one state and regimental monuments and 199 tablets describing the first day of action, the SBC discussed adding moorings of two gunboats at the bluff north of Dill Branch to

¹²⁵ Annual report, 1899, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹²⁶ Annual Report, 1900. SNMP Archives.

¹²⁷ This trace is still maintained in the park.

¹²⁸ Annual Report, 1901. SNMP Archives.

replicate the Union boats that arrived there on the night of April 6, 1862.¹²⁹

Another one and a half miles of road work, divided into three small scattered sections, was completed in 1902, bringing the total length of park roads to 22.98 miles. Additions included the extension of Hamburg-Purdy Road 250 yards west from Corinth Road, a 361 yard section of Corinth Road between Eastern Corinth and Hamburg-Savannah Road, and the full length of Reconnoitering Road, measuring 1,357 yards from Corinth Road to Peabody Road. Other road maintenance work in 1902 included paving the water courses on either sides of culvert head walls and building rock dams across deep gullies along Pittsburg Landing Road and portions of Corinth Road. During the same year, 350 acres were cleared and sprouts were removed from areas already cut of underbrush.¹³⁰

An additional two miles of roads were constructed over the next three years, bringing the total mileage to twenty-five miles by the end of 1905.¹³¹ The work included many new roadways created to facilitate access to monuments, more road extensions, and adaptations of earlier work. A 30' approach road was created to the Johnston Monument from Hamburg-Purdy Road. A 1,740' road was built from the intersection of Hamburg-Purdy Road and the Hamburg-Savannah Road east to the Fifty-fourth Ohio Infantry Monument. Peabody Road was extended 800' west across Shiloh branch to Corinth Road. A small 250' road was added between Corinth Road and the road north of the cemetery leading down to Shiloh Landing. Other road-related construction projects included adding drain tiles to roads, filling in deep, "unsightly" gullies on old traces near Shiloh Church, and upgrading a log revetment to concrete at the bridge over Owl Creek on Hamburg-Savannah Road. The intersection of Browns Ferry Road and Corinth Road was reconstructed to make it easier for vehicles to maneuver. It was one of the first in a long series of road realignments made to accommodate increasingly faster-moving vehicles.

The development of Riverside Drive in 1905 and 1906, and its accompanying dam and bridge at Dill Branch, was the last

¹²⁹ Ibid.

¹³⁰ Annual Report, 1902. SNMP Archives.

¹³¹ Annual Reports, 1902-1905. SNMP Archives.

extensive project during the park's first phase of construction.¹³² The road was graded and improved from the plateau above Pittsburg Landing, down the ravine to Dill Branch, and up the other side to the Indian mounds. The route recreated the attack route used by Confederate forces during the battle.¹³³ A dam was placed near the mouth of Dill Branch "so as to permanently hold the water in this branch to the gauge of the river at the time of the battle," which was 18.6' above the low water mark.¹³⁴ The dam was the foundation for a small wooden bridge over the stream.

Between 1898 and 1905, the landscaping projects continued apace with the road construction. In 1903, trees were planted along the boundaries of old fields, along Hamburg-Purdy Road, and around the Illinois State Monument. The following year, \$9,400 was spent on clearing the land and 170 trees were planted. Eighty-two information tablets were erected and the Pennsylvania and Illinois state monuments were dedicated.¹³⁵ The only mention of fence construction was in the 1903 Annual Report, which noted that a fence was erected along the western edge of Hamburg-Purdy Road where it passed through a pasture.¹³⁶ Since it was made of crating material from the monument cartons, the fence was probably more for pragmatic than aesthetic purposes. Because there is almost no mention of fences in the annual reports, the split-rail fences that appear in many turn-of-the-century photographs of the park were probably constructed by farmers living on park grounds.

In 1902, while the park was still in the midst of construction, many visitors came to the site for the dedication of the Indiana monuments. Despite park officials' expressed mission to accentuate battlefield details over public park characteristics at the site, the park commission report on the visit did the opposite. It highlighted the park's scenic aspects rather than

¹³² Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

¹³³ According to Allen, there was no road across the ravine in 1862. The new road was to parallel the attack route made by Confederate troops in the attack on Grant's last line. Correspondence with HAER historian, August 1999.

¹³⁴ Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

¹³⁵ Annual Report, 1904. SNMP Archives.

¹³⁶ Annual Report, 1903. SNMP Archives.

its historic integrity. "On arriving at Pittsburg Landing," the report noted, "when visitors reach the top of the river bank, they are confronted with the most beautiful national cemetery in this country, and in which lies buried 4,000 Union dead. This scene alone is worth the whole trip. The battlefield scene commences immediately after leaving the cemetery with its rolling wooded lands of beautiful shade and drives and beautiful monuments dotting the field, and two days can be entertainingly spent on the battlefield. This trip is a most beautiful one. No other excursion like this....All should see this battlefield, which is now a beautiful park, where such a deadly conflict took place 40 years ago."¹³⁷

Most visitors arrived at the park at Pittsburg Landing on one of five weekly steamboats operated by the St. Louis and Tennessee River Packet Company.¹³⁸ Excursion boats were also chartered by large groups.¹³⁹ The lengthy steamer trip was considered easy in comparison to the arduous overland route along a twenty-two mile dirt road from the railroad depot in Corinth - the only alternative for long distance travelers. Once at the park, guided wagon or carriage tours were available at Pittsburg Landing for twenty-five cents a ride.¹⁴⁰ Eight mph speed limit signs and guide posts were installed along the roadside to manage vehicular traffic.¹⁴¹ In the early years, visitors were not required to stick to the main thoroughfares while touring the park, however. Concrete gutters were constructed to facilitate drainage and, according to the 1905 Annual Report, to "make it possible for any light vehicle to leave the road and cross into the fields or woods on either side whenever necessary. This adds to the ease of studying the positions of the troops during the battle by making all monuments, markers, and tablets accessible from any place on the roads that the student may be."¹⁴²

¹³⁷ "Dedication of State Monuments to the Memory of Indiana Regiments and Batteries that Participated in the Battle of Shiloh at Pittsburg Landing, Shiloh Battlefield Park, September, 1902." SNMP Archives.

¹³⁸ Annual Report, 1906. SNMP Archives.

¹³⁹ Annual Report, 1912. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁰ Jones, *Building Shiloh Park*, 11.

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 11, 13.

¹⁴² Annual Report, 1905. SNMP Archives.

The resurfaced, graded, and guttered roads within the national park contrasted sharply with the county dirt roads. Consequently, visiting veterans and tourists were not the only groups drawn to the park. Although SNMP's roads were antiquated compared to many other national parks, they were much more advanced than the surrounding countryside. Local commerce was attracted to the park because it contained the best roads and the most important port in the immediate vicinity. Even though distinctions between the federally-owned park land and the state and county-controlled areas were apparent, the park was not an isolated oasis. Regional and park activities and landscapes were interwoven. The situation both promoted cooperation and provoked hostility. As an example of the cooperation, in 1904, Purdy Road was improved to the Livingston's store. Extending the road to the market allowed park employees better access to trade goods and it improved local merchant access to customers and to the landing. Cooperation was also evident in construction projects that combined the resources of both jurisdictions. For example, Hardin County built a new steel bridge over Snake Creek on Hamburg Road at the park boundary with county land and SNMP provided the concrete retaining walls for the structure.¹⁴³

Pittsburg Landing was the most obvious point of interaction. Even after the park secured jurisdiction over the landing, it continued to be the Shiloh community's most important link to the outside world. Conflicts arose when the needs and desires of the park administrators clashed with those of the locals. One chronic problem was the hauling of heavy loads from the landing over park roads. Narrow tires, which were particularly proficient at carrying loads, apparently caused significant damage. They carved deep ruts in the gravel surface, preventing even light wagons from traveling over the roads. Signs were posted at park entrances stating the required tire size per wagon weight.¹⁴⁴ On January 12, 1903, an order went into effect banning the hauling of ties and lumber at Pittsburg Landing during the winter and spring in order to protect the roads from excessive wear and tear.¹⁴⁵ Four years later, a notice that temporarily closed Pittsburg Landing Road for repairs was reissued.¹⁴⁶ A

¹⁴³ Annual Report, 1904. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁴ Reed to Cadle, February 5, 1907. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁵ Annual Report, 1903. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁶ Reed to Cadle, February 5, 1907. SNMP Archives.

local businessman protested the government's interference with local commerce. He pleaded, "There is no other mode of reaching the Landing than by passing over the Government road, and to deny the citizens of that vicinity that right will work a serious hardship upon them."¹⁴⁷

Park administrators were equally as concerned about the hardships of traversing the county roads as the local populace was about using the park roads. The ease of travel and the splendid scenery within the park were not of much benefit if few people could reach it. The park's remoteness and the concomitant poor transportation networks to it were chronic problems. The dire conditions of the roads even played an important role in the battle since Johnston's surprise attack was delayed when the Pittsburg-Corinth Road was turned into a muddy quagmire by spring rains. Park correspondence was inundated with references to the poor quality of the local roads. Forty-four years after the battle, Chairman Cadle complained, "Shiloh is now difficult to access except by steamer on the Tennessee River, requiring about 2 days time in addition to the railroad trip to Paducah, Kentucky...[The trip overland from Corinth] now takes 3 ½ - 7 hours depending on the conditions of the ordinary country road, usually the later."¹⁴⁸ Atwell Thompson vividly described the difficulties of arriving at the park from the railroad depot at Corinth twenty miles to the south. He explained, "The road is impassable in many places now. We came over from Corinth New Year's Day and broke down four times. I never saw such mud. It is deep and like half-pulled candy. Simply clogs and then jams the wheels till traces and single trees break going down hill."¹⁴⁹ Although the steamboats were more reliable than the roads, most of them had to be chartered by groups which, of course, inhibited many families or individuals from visiting the park.¹⁵⁰

There were several attempts to provide rail service to the park around the turn of the century. After condemning an electric railway through the Gettysburg battlefield in the 1890s (which

¹⁴⁷ J.B. Frazier to W.H. Taft, January 24, 1907. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁸ Cadle to Assistant Secretary of War, Robert Shaw Oliver, May 9, 1906. SNMP Archives.

¹⁴⁹ Thompson to "Major," January 5, 1903. SNMP Archives.

¹⁵⁰ T.B. Edington, Law Offices of Memphis, to D.B. Henderson, December 20, 1902. SNMP Archives.

led to the legislation to make it a national park), the War Department was hesitant to support a similar type of arrangement in any of its other parks. Yet, Shiloh's desperate need for improved transportation links compared to the other parks swayed support for it there.¹⁵¹ A line was proposed in 1895 that was to connect Brown's Ferry in the park to Selmer, Tennessee. It was never completed. Six years later, the Southern Railway Company suggested building a rail line between Corinth and Hamburg that would run within two miles of the park. Its president and park administrators hoped to attract riders by distributing brochures for the park on the trains.¹⁵² This plan was also never carried out. Finally, in 1906, a bill (H.R. 16125) went before Congress to give the Corinth and Shiloh Electric Railway Company permission to operate an electric rail service and hotel in the park with a depot at Shiloh Church.¹⁵³ The SBC approved the plan as long as the company did not use their gravel roads or cross the entire park. Although this scheme came the nearest to being completed, it was also rejected. The failure of the park rail lines might relate to economic factors or to the War Department's general disapproval of any such transportation systems. In any case, attentions moved away from the creation of a rail service to the improvement of local roadways.

WAR DEPARTMENT ACTIVITIES, 1906-1932

The War Department's program changed little during its remaining tenure. More land purchases filled the gaps in the federal ownership of the battle grounds. The park increased in size to 3,547.14 acres by 1923.¹⁵⁴ Deteriorating roadways and structures were gradually and incrementally replaced by more modern materials and designs, but there were no major realignments. Monuments and markers were enthusiastically added until 1919 and more sporadically after that date. The intensive landscaping program to reshape the ragged vernacular landscape into tidy park grounds also continued unabated.

¹⁵¹ Secretary of War to Senator E.J. Burkett, undated, in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹⁵² Cadle to T.C. Powell, Traffic Manager, Southern Railway CO., July 25, 1901. SNMP Archives.

¹⁵³ A copy of the bill is located in RG 92, Series 712, Box 2, NARA.

¹⁵⁴ Annual Report, 1923. SNMP Archives.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 62)

The War Department's biggest and most innovative project involved land and roads not within but outside the park limits. Beginning in 1899, the War Department sought to establish an improved roadway to the park. Although excursion steamboats continued to dock at Pittsburg Landing, they were no longer heralded as convenient means of transportation to the park. By 1910, they were considered antiquated and "slow going."¹⁵⁵ By the 1910s, automobiles were rolling off assembly lines in record numbers and at relatively cheap prices. Automobile tourism was on the rise as the burgeoning American middle-class had the means and the time to explore the countryside. They only needed reliable roads to get them there.

Unfortunately, little money was available to produce these roads. Under the Constitution, the federal government was prohibited from constructing roads.¹⁵⁶ With the exception of the National Road in the 1840s, the government did not participate in internal road improvements until the passage of the Federal-Aid Act in 1916. This new law permitted the expenditure of federal funds for the construction of toll-free rural roads over which mail was carried. The government was given further leeway with the passage of the Federal Highway Act in 1921 which allowed for the appropriation of federal funds to states for the improvement of a small percentage of their roads. Arteries that connected cities with other cities and farms with markets were usually selected as Federal-Aid roads over smaller rural routes.

Even the best roads in the early twentieth century were usually dusty and rutted thoroughfares. The South, in particular, was notorious for the bad condition of its roads.¹⁵⁷ In most areas, Southern transportation networks lagged far behind Northern ones. One reason for the discrepancy was that many Southerners rejected federal aid for internal improvements because it was viewed as a

¹⁵⁵ D.W. Reed to John Scofield, August 17, 1910. SNMP Archives.

¹⁵⁶ For a history of the development of American roads see Phil Patton, *Open Road: A Celebration of the American Highway* (New York: Simon & Schuster, Inc., 1986); and Albert C. Rose, *Historic American Roads: From Frontier Trails to Superhighways* (New York: Crown Publishers, Inc., 1976).

¹⁵⁷ The main source used for the development of roads in the South is Howard L. Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991).

threat to states' autonomy. Even if states were willing to accept the federal support, they often could not afford the required matching grants. Furthermore, many rural residents resented the supplanting of the statute labor laws with a monetary road tax. Under the earlier arrangement, individuals were allowed to provide a day of labor for road construction in exchange for paying taxes. As many historians have noted, the road work day was commonly treated like a holiday and little progress was made to rehabilitate poor rural roads.¹⁵⁸

In rural southwestern Tennessee, the existence of SNMP provided a means of overcoming these obstacles. The park brought political influence and a larger economic base to the area. It provided an incentive on the national level to improve roads that might otherwise have been neglected for decades. Park officials and local politicians were united in their efforts to convince the federal government to support the improvement of the road between Shiloh and Corinth. Despite their arguments that it was a nationally significant thoroughfare, it took over twenty-five years to persuade Congress to fund the project. Federal appropriations were issued to the SNMP, not the local counties, signifying the intention that it should serve primarily as a part of the commemorative landscape and as an improved access route for tourist traffic to the park instead of a local commercial by-way. Visitation to the park increased after the road's improvement, but local traffic increased also. As with the conflicts over the use of Pittsburg Landing Road, the roadway's dual use eventually led to tensions between the park authorities and local interests.

SHILOH-CORINTH ROAD, 1899-1932

The first attempt to obtain federal support for the improvement of the area's roads was in December 1899. Local Congressman T.W. Sims introduced a bill in Congress to build a gravel road from Shiloh to Selmer, Tennessee.¹⁵⁹ Selmer businessmen sought SBC's endorsement for the road but the commissioners backed a plan to construct an improved road between Shiloh and Corinth instead. Cadle objected to any park appropriations being used for the Selmer Road even though Selmer was closer to Shiloh than Corinth, and it was the location of the nearest post office. Cadle argued

¹⁵⁸ See Patton, *Open Road*; Rose, *Historic American Roads*; and Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*.

¹⁵⁹ The bill was H.R. 1003.

that the Corinth Road was a better proposition because of its national significance as an historic route (the Confederates advanced and retreated down a segment of it) and because of its connection to two railroad lines, instead of just one at Selmer.¹⁶⁰ Without the park official's backing, the Selmer bill had little hope for passage and, indeed, died on the House floor.

The park engineer Atwell Thompson surveyed the Shiloh-Corinth Road in 1903 and found that the contemporary twenty-two mile route deviated slightly from the historic trace.¹⁶¹ A two mile section in the town of Corinth and a four mile section within SNMP were already improved gravel roads. The remaining fifteen mile section was proposed to Congress as an extension of the park. The War Department sought \$50,000 in federal aid to resurface the road in gravel, to expand the width of its right-of-way to 66', to erect bridges and culverts as needed, and to place historic markers along the route.¹⁶² Most adjacent land owners granted the right-of-way through their property, but a few stipulated that the road follow the current route, not the historic route.¹⁶³ Convincing the locals of the road's merits was not nearly as difficult as convincing national legislators. The Shiloh-Corinth Road Bill was presented several times to Congress between 1902 and 1913, and each time it failed to pass.

While the federal government balked at the road, a group of investors saw economic opportunity. They organized the Corinth, Shiloh and Savannah Turnpike Company in 1911 in order to create an eleven mile toll road from the park to the Mississippi border.¹⁶⁴ Both Hardin and McNairy Counties, presumably impatient with the park's efforts to improve the road, granted the company the privilege of building and operating a turnpike with two toll gates along the route Thompson had surveyed. The toll road was in private hands from 1914 until 1924. It charged between fifty

¹⁶⁰ Cadle to Secretary of War, February 27, 1899. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶¹ Reed to T.E. Henry, Mayor of Corinth, undated. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶² "A Bill to Extend the Limits of Shiloh National Military Park," ca. 1910. Many drafts of this bill were written from ca. 1910 to 1913. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶³ Reed to E.S. Candler, December 12, 1910. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶⁴ A.M. Patterson, co-owner of Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company, "Oath" for Hardin County," January 31, 1925. SNMP Archives.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 65)

cents and \$2.50 to travel the entire length.¹⁶⁵ The right-of-way measured 60' and the roadway 18'.¹⁶⁶ It was surfaced with local gravel graded down 12" thick with a crown of up to 1". It was lined with concrete ditches and used vitrified clay and metal pipes for the culverts.

Park officials were initially pleased with the results. In the 1914 Annual Report, they referred to the new road as an "excellent pike" that "places the park in convenient touch with the traveling public." They added, "Automobiles now cover in one hour the distance which it took the army of Johnston two days to travel. Instead of being a hardship, the short automobile drive from Corinth is a diversion much enjoyed by tourists."¹⁶⁷

The satisfaction soon turned to rancor, however, as resentment grew over having a commercial toll road serve as the main access route to the national park. No longer viewed as a panacea, by 1923, the toll road was called an "offending barrier to tourism."¹⁶⁸ Since the strategy of placing the road under the auspices of the park was defeated so many times, De Long Rice, then SNMP Superintendent, and local leaders attempted to make the route a public road by including it in a federal-state cooperative plan to improve Tennessee's rural roads.¹⁶⁹ Great patriotic hyperbole was used to justify the government ownership of the road. Rice emotionally stated, "It seems entirely out of harmony with the spirit of patriotic devotion to this foot point in history to have commercial arms of toll gates stretched across a road which bore the tread of a hundred thousand soldiers."¹⁷⁰ He called the turnpike "not only an unseemly expense to visitors to this shrine of patriotism but actually a bar to many would-be

¹⁶⁵ Rice to J.G. Creveling, Commissioner of Roads for the State of Tennessee, August 25, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶⁶ Statistics from "Specifications for the Corinth, Shiloh, Savannah Turnpike," undated. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶⁷ Annual Report, 1914. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶⁸ Annual Report, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁶⁹ Rice to John E. Rankin, Representative, First District, Mississippi, December 21, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁰ Rice to M.T. Sharp, Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Corinth, MS, March 1, 1921. SNMP Archives.

visitors."¹⁷¹

In August 1923, the Commissioner of the Tennessee Department of Highways informed Rice that he was recommending to federal authorities that the Shiloh-Corinth Road be made a part of the Federal-Aid road system.¹⁷² Rice responded in his usual colorful manner, "[we need] to build a great highway to redeem this long-neglected battle field and beautiful park from its unseemly location - to banish these toll gates and give free ingress to this place of history...."¹⁷³

The idea for a federal-state partnership must have foundered because Congressman John E. Rankin, of the First District in Mississippi, contacted Rice the following December about reigniting the plan to make the Corinth-Shiloh Road a park road.¹⁷⁴ Although the construction of an entirely new route adjacent to the turnpike was discussed, this idea was rejected because of the expense of obtaining new rights-of-way and building a new road.¹⁷⁵ Rankin's first bill requesting appropriations to extend SNMP to include the road failed but the second attempt passed on June 7, 1924.¹⁷⁶ Unlike earlier bills, H.R. 7877 characterized the route not simply as an avenue to the park but a route that connected SNMP to another important historic landmark, the Corinth National Cemetery. Perhaps this factor convinced the distant Congressmen of its significance, as \$50,000 was appropriated for the purchase and improvement of a 66' wide right-of-way between the park and the Corinth city limit.

After purchasing the eleven mile stretch of road located within Tennessee for \$28,000, the federal government took over its

¹⁷¹ Rice, Memorandum to McAdams, Assistant Secretary of War, December 16, 1922. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷² J.G. Creveling, Commissioner of Roads, State of Tennessee, to Rice, August 28, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷³ Rice to J.G. Creveling, August 25, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁴ Rankin to Rice, December 1, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁵ Superintendent, SNMP, to Quartermaster General, July 30, 1924. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁶ [Author unknown] to Rice, undated. SNMP Archives.

propriatorship from the turnpike company on August 29, 1924.¹⁷⁷ Two months later, the Board of Supervisors of Alcorn County, Mississippi, donated the adjoining six miles of roadway located between the state line and the Corinth city limits. The city was held responsible for improvements within its jurisdiction. Unlike the 60' wide turnpike, the Mississippi road was only 30' wide. Connected to these two sections was the 18' wide and five mile long section of Shiloh-Corinth Road already in the park. The total length of the parkway was twenty-two miles.

Although the road was considered "far above neighboring country roads," park officials immediately went to work upgrading it.¹⁷⁸ During the first half of 1925, three "awkward and dangerous curves" were regraded, the road surface was regravled, two small wooden bridges were replaced by a single concrete span with double culverts, and levies were widened.¹⁷⁹ In April 1925, the Tennessee legislature ceded jurisdiction over the tract to the United States.¹⁸⁰ Public reception to the government takeover was quite positive. As a local newspaper announced, "The establishment of this highway, paved and controlled by the government, has been a dream that now seems almost at the point of realization."¹⁸¹

Only two years after the initial repairs, the park superintendent advocated having the road paved in concrete. The gravel surface was considered inadequate to support the great increase in traffic. In 1926, Superintendent Rice reported that there were 214,145 visitors to the park, 42 percent of whom arrived via Shiloh-Corinth Road.¹⁸² Ninety-eight percent came in motor

¹⁷⁷ "Resolution Adopted at Director's Meeting Held October 15, 1924," Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁸ Rice to Quartermaster General, War Department, April 2, 1924. SNMP Archives.

¹⁷⁹ Rice to Quartermaster General, War Department, July 30, 1924. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸⁰ "Facts of Shiloh-Corinth Road," undated. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸¹ "All Interested in Shiloh Road Called to Meet," [Newspaper unidentified], ca. 1925. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸² Rice to John A. Shelton, August 27, 1926. SNMP Archives. The statistics might be exaggerated because only 107,000 visitors

vehicles and the remaining 2 percent on horseback or in horse-drawn vehicles.¹⁸³ Shiloh tourists were not the only drivers on Shiloh-Corinth Road. A local paper reported,

Traffic over this road is increasing as the traffic over no other road through this section. It is increasing in weight as well as numbers of vehicles. Heavy freighting goes over that road from Corinth to the Tennessee River territory....The road is being used for both pleasure and commercial purposes. Sightseers from the north and west are going there and Corinth being the link with that famed battle field the traffic naturally comes via Corinth, using every mile of the government highway. Something beside gravel will be needed to stop the exceedingly great expense of upkeep, with this great volume of traffic.¹⁸⁴

In February 1931, with the backing of Senator K.D. McKellar, Congress agreed to fund the paving of the road in concrete.¹⁸⁵ The work was completed by the end of July 1932. As in previous years, this park road improvement partially worked at cross-purposes to the park's intentions. While facilitating access to the park for tourists, the new and improved road also enticed all other forms of traffic. The stakes were getting higher as the speed and volume of local traffic increased exponentially with the degree of adaptations to the roadways. Once again, the grounds for future conflicts were established that would require further adjustments in the mid-twentieth century.

INTERNAL PARK IMPROVEMENTS, 1906-1933

In the 1906 Annual Report, the Commission Chairman proclaimed, "There are no roads now under construction."¹⁸⁶ After having basically completed its initial construction program, the park

were reported in 1942.

¹⁸³ Rice to John A. Shelton, August 27, 1926. SNMP Archives. Rice approximated that 42,000 motor vehicles and 1,100 horse-drawn vehicles entered the park.

¹⁸⁴ "Shiloh Pike Repairs Under Consideration," [Newspaper unidentified], ca. 1925. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸⁵ SNMP, "Maintenance Report of Federally Owned Shiloh-Corinth Road," ca. 1938. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸⁶ Annual Report, 1906. SNMP Archives.

spent the next twenty-seven years refining and embellishing the grounds. The roads' importance to the overall park design is plainly stated in the 1915 Annual Report which noted, "No one physical feature of the park adds so much to its attractiveness as the system of roads reaching all parts of the battle field and offering both pleasure and facility to the visitor."¹⁸⁷ The War Department's annual reports through 1932 placed great emphasis on the aesthetic effects of landscape features, common public park virtues which it reportedly shunned on its battlefields. This phenomenon is readily apparent in the descriptions of the park roads. The 1914 Annual Report declared:

The roads within the park are constantly praised and appreciated by those who use them, not alone because they are facilities for seeing and studying the battle field, but also because they are driveways as beautiful as may be found in the greatest parks in the country. Lying mostly in the shadows of the woods, they are ideal throughout the summer. All bridges are of concrete, artistically patterned; conduits are of vitrified sewer pipe, with ornamental concrete head walls; cement gutters are being built as rapidly as the means at hand will permit.¹⁸⁸

This declaration of the "rapidity" of their work was no exaggeration. Roads were continually being regraveled, regraded, and recrowned. For several years, park officials advocated for a steam roller to improve the efficiency of the road work. Chickamauga and Gettysburg each had one in the 1890s, but Shiloh did not receive a steam roller until 1907.¹⁸⁹ Between 1906 and 1909, an average of 3,400' of gutters were added annually.¹⁹⁰ Catch basins made of Portland cement and local conglomerate rock were placed at the entrances to culverts.¹⁹¹ By the end of the War Department's tenure in 1933, there were forty-four miles of park roads, including two miles of new roads constructed within the park since 1905 and the seventeen mile section of Shiloh-

¹⁸⁷ Annual Report, 1915. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸⁸ Annual Report, 1914. SNMP Archives.

¹⁸⁹ A roller is first mentioned in the 1907 Annual Report, though the superintendent had requested one for many years.

¹⁹⁰ Annual Reports, 1906-1909. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹¹ Annual Report, 1907. SNMP Archives.

Corinth Road acquired in 1925. The two miles of new roadways within the park included service roads and monument access loops, such as the ones for the Wisconsin, Illinois, and Johnston memorials. There was some controversy over the establishment of these access roads. There was apprehension that the introduction of new roads might lead to misinterpretations of the historic site. In these three cases, touring vehicles wore ruts in the ground over the years by driving off the main roads to the monuments. Park staff simply graded and realigned the existing paths.¹⁹² To prevent further alterations, after 1915, vehicles were banned from wandering off the established roads.¹⁹³

Other road changes and additions included the creation of a gravel turn-around area at the Owl Creek Bridge on Hamburg-Purdy Road.¹⁹⁴ It enabled vehicles to easily return to the park instead of exiting the grounds. In 1909, the park's five wooden bridges, including the largest one across Dill Branch which measured 60' in length, were replaced with reinforced concrete structures. Like the concrete foundations constructed around the Confederate burial trenches, the bridges were capped with Civil War era cannon balls as decorative motifs. A 1.14 mile section of Riverside Drive from the Indian mounds to Hamburg-Savannah Road was completed in 1912. The route was considered "the most picturesque in the field."¹⁹⁵ A concrete ford was built over Rea, or East, Branch and a 37' long reinforced concrete foot bridge was constructed to the spring.¹⁹⁶ Hamburg-Savannah Road was extended eastward after the acquisition of additional property in 1925.¹⁹⁷

During this time, there were several important policy decisions that related to the park roads. In 1923, park officials successfully lobbied to have five short sections of historic roads (totaling 3-3/8 miles) that extended slightly beyond the park boundaries retained under its jurisdiction instead of

¹⁹² Rice to Reed, November 7, 1914. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹³ House Document 465: "Protection of National Military Parks," December 29, 1915. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹⁴ Annual Report, 1919. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹⁵ Annual Report, 1907. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹⁶ Annual Report, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹⁷ Annual Report, 1925. SNMP Archives.

reverting back to the state.¹⁹⁸ Six years later, Hamburg-Purdy Road was incorporated into the Tennessee state highway system as Route 57.¹⁹⁹ The state improved a twelve mile stretch of the road that ended at the park border at Owl Creek.

A tornado tore through the park in 1909 leaving behind a swath of devastation 200 yards wide and one and a half miles long.²⁰⁰ The twister entered the north side of the park and then turned southeast to Pittsburg Landing. It killed seven persons, uprooted hundreds of trees, demolished thirteen buildings, and ruined several monuments and tombstones. All of the facilities located at the landing, including an office, a warehouse, stock and storage barns, and work shops were destroyed and had to be rebuilt after the disaster. A small hotel that was destroyed and rebuilt after the storm burned to the ground four years later and was never replaced.²⁰¹ It was the last hostelry on park grounds, though several other private operations were established near park entrances.

The bluff above Pittsburg Landing was taking shape as the center of park activities, even as the importance of the landing as a transportation link waned with the improvement of overland routes. A pavilion for public ceremonies was constructed there in 1912. Three years later, the roads encircling the pavilion, the store, and the office were widened and regraded to accommodate the increased traffic. Granite "wheel guards" were placed along the roadsides to divide the driveways from the lawns where visitors congregated. In 1917, wheel guards were added to two entrances to create "an attractive approach" and 200' of concrete walks were created around the grounds.²⁰²

The War Department oversaw an extremely comprehensive and rigorous landscape program. The aim was to reproduce historic patterns but not clutter the site with the common detritus of vernacular landscapes. It made the grounds look less like an

¹⁹⁸ Memorandum from SNMP to the Quartermaster General, War Department, September 24, 1923. SNMP Archives.

¹⁹⁹ Memorandum from SNMP to Quartermaster General, August 2, 1929. SNMP Archives.

²⁰⁰ Annual Report, 1910. SNMP Archives.

²⁰¹ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 28-29.

²⁰² Annual Report, 1917. SNMP Archives.

1862 rural farmscape than a turn-of-the-century public park. Evidence of the meticulousness of their work is provided in the detailed statistical reports of the number of dead trees removed and fallen leaves cleared.²⁰³ Forests were thinned of limbs "to create handsome vistas" of monuments and markers.²⁰⁴ Vegetation was also trimmed back from roadsides. Other trees, such as cedars and Japanese quince were planted along Riverside Drive, for beauty and erosion control.²⁰⁵ Fields were perennially "grubbed" of unwanted vegetation so that they would have "a smooth, lawn-like appearance."²⁰⁶ Sounding like an urban park planner, the Shiloh superintendent stated in 1915, "The numerous fields, which attractively break the monotony of the woods, are given special attention...and they are now features of beauty."²⁰⁷ The park propagated Bermuda grass for sod.²⁰⁸ It laid 20,000 square feet of it by 1919.²⁰⁹ It also produced hay and corn on back fields for park horses.

An iron fence was erected around Bloody Pond in 1908 because it had become "a filthy wallowing place for hogs."²¹⁰ During the 1910s, War Department officials were much stricter about livestock roaming the grounds. Officials issued a regulation in 1915 that forbade the free range of some types of stock and required farmers to seek permission to graze their animals on park land.²¹¹ The following year, with a reduction in the animal nuisance, the park carted away most of the old rail fences that farmers had erected to protect their fields.²¹² The only other additional fencing noted was the replacement of a rotten rustic

²⁰³ See, for example, Annual Reports for the years 1913 and 1915. SNMP Archives.

²⁰⁴ Annual Report, 1907. SNMP Archives.

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ Annual Report, 1913. SNMP Archives.

²⁰⁷ Annual Report, 1915. SNMP Archives.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Annual Report, 1919. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁰ Annual Report, 1908. SNMP Archives.

²¹¹ House of Representatives Document 465: "Protection of National Military Parks," December 29, 1915. SNMP Archives.

²¹² Annual Report, 1916. SNMP Archives.

fence at the Rea Springs picnic area with an ornamental iron one in 1912.²¹³ By 1914, there were nine privately-owned residences within the park boundaries, and these were considered "eyesores." Most of them were torn down as they were vacated and the lots were sodded over.²¹⁴

Over 800 battle markers and tablets were erected throughout the park grounds.²¹⁵ They were designed in different shapes and sizes so that the events and participants described were easily recognizable. Rectangular plaques identified the actions of the first day of battle and oval plaques identified the second day's events. Each of the armies were cataloged by a separate color: blue was used for the Army of the Tennessee, yellow for the Army of the Ohio, and red for the Army of the Mississippi. Union markers outnumbered Confederate markers by 226 to 173.²¹⁶ Two hundred and fifty cannon were situated around the grounds to signify battle artillery positions. The idea of constructing a 90' high observation tower like the one at Vicksburg on the plateau above Pittsburg Landing was suggested several times, but the project was never realized.²¹⁷

More than 140 monuments commemorating combat units were also ceremoniously added through the years.²¹⁸ One of the largest and most expensive was the Iowa State Monument, which was erected in 1906 at a cost of \$25,000.²¹⁹ It was placed on the bluff just west of the National Cemetery. Another was the United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument, which was dedicated in May 1917 before a crowd of 15,000 who arrived "on boats, on horseback, in

²¹³ Annual Report, 1912. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁴ Annual Report, 1914. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁵ Annual Report, 1918. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁶ Annual Report, 1914. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁷ Annual Reports 1907 and 1908. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁸ Annual Report, 1927. SNMP Archives.

²¹⁹ Annual Report, 1906. SNMP Archives.

carriages, and in automobiles."²²⁰ It cost \$50,000.²²¹ As another form of monumentation, over 200 trees were preserved as "venerable witnesses of history because they bore battle scars from the war."²²² There were also efforts to determine the ages of trees because many visitors wanted to know if they existed at the time of the battle.²²³

As Shiloh's staff was busy attending to the grounds, several administrative and policy changes made in Washington, D.C., profoundly effected their operations. Between 1902 and 1910, a bill to consolidate the administration of the military parks into one five-member commission was presented before Congress. The bill was repeatedly rejected but in 1912 a similar measure, known as the Sundry Civil Bill, passed.²²⁴ It called for the gradual termination of the park commissions as members retired or died. The Secretary of War was given the authority to act in their place.

In 1926, Congress authorized a general survey of U.S. battlefields and called for the creation of a classification system in which to organize them.²²⁵ These actions constituted an attempt to systematize the induction process of future properties. Unfortunately for SNMP, it was the only Civil War military park to be demoted to a Class II park. Gettysburg, Chickamauga, and Vicksburg were all considered "battles of exceptional political and military importance and interest whose effects were far-reaching, whose fields are worthy of preservation for detailed military and historical study and which are suitable to serve as memorials to the armies." Shiloh was, instead, considered a Class IIa park which possessed "battles of sufficient importance to warrant the designation of their sites

²²⁰ United Daughters of the Confederacy Director of Shiloh Monument Committee, quoted in Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 42.

²²¹ Annual Report, 1917. SNMP Archives.

²²² Annual Report, 1913. SNMP Archives.

²²³ Annual Report, 1916. SNMP Archives.

²²⁴ The description of the Sundry Civil Bill is derived from Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 45.

²²⁵ The information and quotations regarding NPS' new classification system is from Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 46-49.

as national monuments." It was considered appropriate to locate and mark the battle lines but not necessarily to erect monuments. Other Class IIa battlefields included Fort Donelson, Manassas, and Fredericksburg. The demotion in importance of Shiloh in the eyes of the nation can perhaps be attributed to its remoteness and the absence of the emotional fervor that the battle stirred in the 1890s when most of the veterans were still alive.

By the late 1920s, the roads were considered "the most conspicuously below the desired standard of excellence" of all the park's property.²²⁶ By 1933, the year the SNMP was transferred to the National Park Service in the Department of the Interior, the Shiloh-Corinth Road was laid with concrete and park officials were requesting funds to tar or oil internal park road surfaces to eliminate chronic dust problems.²²⁷ It would be up to the Park Service to fulfill these calls for assistance and to reshape the park to fit the NPS's aesthetic and design criteria.

NATIONAL PARK SERVICE AND WORKS PROGRESS ERA, 1933-1954

Since the creation of Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Military Park in 1890, many bureaucrats questioned the appropriateness and practicality of the War Department acting as a guardian of public parks. Forty-three years later, the relationship was finally severed when all federal park lands were consolidated under the National Park Service. The National Park Service (NPS) was established as a division of the Department of Interior in 1916. President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed two Executive Orders in 1933 that gave the NPS responsibility and jurisdiction over the War Department's parks and monuments, the Forest Service's national monuments, and the national capital parks in Washington, D.C. The order stated that these natural and cultural sites were to be "preserved for the whole nation for all time."²²⁸

While the NPS shared the War Department's aim of preserving the battlefield sites' historic integrity, it had a decidedly new perspective on military park management and design. Since 1926, the NPS worked in conjunction with the Department of Agriculture's Bureau of Public Roads to "investigate, survey, or

²²⁶ "Annual Report, Statistical Data," 1927. SNMP Archives.

²²⁷ R.A. Livingston, Superintendent, SNMP, to Quartermaster, Fourth Corps, July 22, 1932. SNMP Archives.

²²⁸ Quoted in Lee, *Origin and Evolution*, 53.

construct" park road and trail projects.²²⁹ This united BPR's road engineering concepts with NPS's landscape design principles.²³⁰ With this inter-bureau collaboration, SNMP's administration and landscape plan was no longer under the governance of a single superintendent but was divided among an array of professionals, including engineers, architects, landscape architects, and historians. Concomitant with the rise of this bureaucracy was the creation of master plans to provide a rational and systematic framework for program implementation.

The NPS not only introduced a new organizational system, it also brought a different set of aesthetic principles and ideologies regarding the form and function of public parks.²³¹ NPS officials expanded the battlefield parks' focus beyond simply the representation of military history to include more recreational goals. They placed greater emphasis on the comfort and enjoyment of visitors. The NPS' landscaping program, while no less an intervention than the War Department's, was more concerned with enhancing the "natural" qualities of the site. As a local newspaper explained, the park intended to "materially increase the natural beauty of the park, while at the same time avoiding artificiality."²³² Buildings and other architectural features were erected that supposedly melded with the natural surroundings

²²⁹ NPS, Office Order NO. 347, "Procedure for Major Road and Trail Projects," November 24, 1937. SNMP Archives.

²³⁰ For a study of the NPS and BPR relationship see McClelland, *Presenting Nature*; and Linda McClelland, *Building the National Parks: Historic Landscape Design and Construction* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

²³¹ See Hubbard, *An Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design*, which was essentially a textbook for park road construction in the 1930s. See also Phoebe Cutler, *Public Landscape of the New Deal* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Ethan Carr, *Wilderness by Design: Landscape Architecture and the National Park Service* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1998); Timothy M. Davis, "Mount Vernon Memorial Highway and the Evolution of the American Parkway" (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 1997); and Linda McClelland, *Presenting Nature and Building the National Parks*.

²³² John C. McDonald, "600 Picks Disturbed Sacred Shiloh Park--T'was CWA Making Historic Spot Beautiful," *The Commercial Appeal*, Memphis, TN, April 1, 1934. SNMP Archives.

and historic time period.

Traditional NPS road design had antecedents in English landscape gardening and nineteenth century American park planning, including the work of Andrew Jackson Downing and Frederick Law Olmsted.²³³ Park road systems typically followed circuitous paths that leisurely guided visitors from one point of interest to the next. Ideally, such a drive required no retracing of terrain or complicated maneuvering and exposed visitors to a wide range of scenery. Henry Hubbard, the author of the most prominent textbook on landscape architecture in the early twentieth century, called park roads "a necessity to be tolerated" because their artificiality was viewed as an intrusion on a park's natural setting.²³⁴ To avoid this liability, parks attempted to create roads that were as unobtrusive as possible.

The goal was accomplished by blending the roads into the natural features of a locale. Roadways were placed along the area's natural contours. Serpentine pathways were created to ease the impact of the road on the land and to slow vehicular traffic to a recreational pace. Traffic was led from one road to another by gentle bends or more abrupt curves but rarely by right-angle turns. Banks were formed into gentle slopes, and drainage ditches were covered with sod to camouflage their existence. Native shrubs and trees were planted in irregular patterns along the roadside to merge with the surrounding vegetation, to provide shade, and to create a foreground to distant vistas. Even the color of the road surface might be adapted to the natural setting. Since the roads were designed for sightseeing, great attention was given to the patterns of scenic views along the tour. The routes were organized to expose visitors to a variety of landscape forms in interesting sequences. As a result of the application of these NPS design principles, the Civil War park landscape was reinvented as a scenic, yet efficiently organized, pleasure ground.

The transfer of military parks to the National Park Service coincided with the establishment of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs. Temporary relief agencies, such as the Works

²³³ For the historic antecedents of park road designs see Davis, "Mount Vernon Memorial Highway" and McClelland, *Presenting Nature and Building the National Parks*.

²³⁴ Hubbard, *Introduction to the Study of Landscape Design*, 219.

Progress Administration (WPA), the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), and the Public Works Administration (PWA), were established within the federal government to create public work projects for the unemployed. These agencies provided the manpower to implement the NPS' new construction programs. Two hundred and fifty unemployed men from Hardin and McNairy counties were hired with PWA funds to conduct park improvement projects at Shiloh.²³⁵ There were also two CCC camps, made up of 200 African-American World War I veterans each, that served as park maintenance and construction crews from 1933 through 1941.²³⁶

Like their War Department predecessors, the first task on the Park Service's agenda was the creation of a survey map from which to plan their changes. It was the first survey since Thompson's project in the 1890s. NPS employees were less than enthusiastic about the conditions they found at Shiloh. The park historian's 1935 report on the proposed road system expressed his dissatisfaction. He noted, "...a motley succession of roads has marked the soil of Shiloh so that, in almost any direction one chooses to investigate or to consider a road, an examination of the ground reveals that an older road has preceded it."²³⁷

Park officials felt confident in the historic integrity of the major roads, which included Pittsburg Landing-Corinth Road, Hamburg-Savannah Road, Hamburg-Purdy Road, and Eastern Corinth Road, but the labyrinth of minor roads was another story. SNMP Historian Ronald Lee explained, "The existing minor roads at Shiloh Park follow time after time parallel to an old sunken dirt track now out of use, which winds close to the park road and then angles off away from it...Among this confused network of old farm roads, old logging roads and military trails and company streets, there is no one set that can be chosen as the oldest, or the most significant." The visitors, too, he observed, were dumbfounded because "the roads lack continuity and seem unrelated to one another."²³⁸

²³⁵ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 45.

²³⁶ [Author unidentified], "District 'C,' CCC Fourth Corps Area," undated brochure. SNMP Archives.

²³⁷ Ronald F. Lee, Shiloh Historian to Verne E. Chatelaine, Chief, Historical Division, NPS, June 19, 1934. SNMP Archives.

²³⁸ Lee to Chartelain, June 18, 1934. SNMP Archives.

One possible reason for visitor confusion was that many of Shiloh's roads did not lead to historic sites. Unlike Gettysburg National Park, where many roads were created as direct access links to battle lines, Shiloh's roads replicated vernacular landscape patterns. The mid-nineteenth century road traces generally led to farmsteads, but they may or may not have abutted or paralleled important military positions. Some roads "appeared to go nowhere," as Lee noted, because they terminated at empty lots that were the locations of farm houses razed long before by the War Department.²³⁹ In other places, significant battle sites were neglected because there was no record of an historic trace to it. The War Department created a relatively authentic battlefield road system but, according to NPS administrators, it was not necessarily a good historical park transportation network.

Although the Park Service expressed a desire to "preserve and enhance the historic character of the battlefield," it appeared to have been more interested in converting this "maze" into an orderly and legible form. The untidy arrangement of historic roads was altered to fit the broader NPS goals of providing a "smooth, dustless roadway, over which visitors may ride in comfort as they enjoy the beauty of the Park."²⁴⁰ Landscape features that did not sufficiently add to, or that appeared to detract from, the battle story (and the NPS goals) were eliminated, altered, or replaced with more compatible features.

In addition to reducing the complexity of Shiloh's road system, park engineers and landscape architects wanted to improve its safety and beauty. Modern materials and engineering features were combined with naturalistic design elements to enhance the structural and aesthetic qualities of the roads. Serpentine concrete roads banked with superelevated curves increased vehicular stability and enhanced the driving experience. Of great concern to NPS officials were Shiloh's antiquated and awkward intersections. Most were preserved by the War Department as artifacts of the historic traces long after motor vehicles had replaced horse-drawn carriages. The NPS sacrificed authenticity for safety by widening and realigning many of these intersections to accommodate modern automobiles.

²³⁹ Lee to Chartelain, June 18, 1934. SNMP Archives.

²⁴⁰ "Final Construction Report, Bureau of Public Roads," Project 4A1, SNMP, 1938. SNMP Archives.

The NPS applied new surface materials, such as concrete and bituminous asphalt, to many of the gravel and dirt roads within the park. Some landscape architects deplored the use of these hard surfaces because of their modern connotations and appearance.²⁴¹ Others were pragmatic about it. Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director of Region I, National Park Service, stated, "Historic conditions were generally dust or mud and that having conceded the solid, dustless road to the needs of modern traffic, it is then relatively immaterial to the historic verities whether this solid, dustless road be obtained by calcium chloride, concrete or bitumen."²⁴²

A road's historic significance and level of use determined the type of design and improvements it received. In the 1930s master plans, the park roads were classified into three groups.²⁴³ The primary roads, including Pittsburg Landing-Corinth Road, Hamburg-Savannah Road, and Hamburg-Purdy Road, were referred to as historic landmarks and main transportation arteries. They were paved in concrete. Large sections of each of these routes, most notably Pittsburg Landing-Corinth Road between the headquarters area and the intersection with Hamburg-Savannah Road, were realigned into gently-curving roadways. Secondary roads were considered "light sight-seeing" roads that provided access to historic sites. They were paved in bituminous asphalt or gravel. Roads that were laid with asphalt in this period include Eastern Corinth Road, Peabody Road, and Johnston Road (Hamburg-Savannah Road south of the Johnston monument). Through the 1940s, Riverside Drive, Grant Road, Sherman Road, and Reconnoitering Road were maintained as gravel lanes. The last category consisted of roads that served administrative functions or were used by local residents still living within the park. Many of the former were upgraded, while many of the latter were obliterated over the years.

Parking facilities were expanded throughout the park to accommodate the increased number of vehicles and to allow visitors to pull off the main roads at prominent monuments or

²⁴¹ "Final Construction Report, SNMP" Bureau of Public Roads, 1938. SNMP Archives.

²⁴² Memo from Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, National Park Service, ca.1937. SNMP Archives.

²⁴³ "Final Construction Report, SNMP," Bureau of Public Roads, 1938. SNMP Archives.

other sites. A bituminous asphalt parking lot was created at the Johnston Monument in 1940.²⁴⁴ Concrete pull-off areas were placed by the Iowa State Monument and the UDC Confederate Monument a year later.²⁴⁵ According to a park official, pull-off areas were added next to some historic markers along Shiloh-Corinth Road so "a person can conveniently read the inscription without getting out of the automobile."²⁴⁶

The new NPS park program was directed toward all aspects of the park landscape, not just its design. In 1936, administrators changed the vernacular names of most of the remaining park roads to ones that corresponded to battle events or participants.²⁴⁷ Hamburg-Savannah Road was divided into Johnston Road and Lew Wallace Road. Corinth Road was renamed Confederate Road and Hamburg-Purdy Road became Federal Road. The changes supposedly helped to clarify and interpret the site's history but, in actuality, in seemed to cause more confusion because the new names did not correspond with historic documentation. Since 1993, many of the historic vernacular names have been reinstated.

Educational programs, such as official guided tours and museum displays, were provided to interpret the site's history to groups whose only knowledge of the war was from history books and family heirlooms. The guides were trained personnel instead of the local wagon owners that were used during the War Department's tenure. In the late 1930s, the guide system was updated to include mounted amplifiers on park vehicles so auto tour caravans could have an uninterrupted narration of the sites as they drove through the park.²⁴⁸

Official guidebooks and maps that directed visitors along a

²⁴⁴ "Minor Development Areas: Part of the Master Plan, SNMP," Sheet No. 18, January 1939 edition. Map Collection, SNMP Archives.

²⁴⁵ Completion Report, "SNMP, Parking Areas, Confederate and Iowa Monuments," October 30, 1940. SNMP Archives.

²⁴⁶ "Report on Parking Area for Shiloh-Corinth Road," SNMP, March 12, 1935. SNMP Archives.

²⁴⁷ "Recommendation for the Naming and Attaching of Certain Names of Roads within Shiloh National Military Park," January 8, 1936. SNMP Archives.

²⁴⁸ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 64.

prescribed tour route through the park were published beginning in 1940. Only a small portion of the roads in the park were utilized in order to facilitate the interpretation of battle events and to ease the flow of traffic. Roads that were not included on the tour vanished from maps so they were less likely to be used. Many of them were not improved and eventually they were abandoned or obliterated.

PARK ENTRANCES

Through the 1940s, Pittsburg Landing was still the site of a ferry crossing and steamers arrived three times a month with an average of eighty-one passengers on board.²⁴⁹ The number of visitors arriving by automobile far outweighed those arriving by boat, however. In 1939, 44,904 visitors entered SNMP in automobiles and over 107,000 in 1942, the eightieth anniversary of the battle.²⁵⁰ Two brick Greek Revival SNMP entrance stations were erected along Shiloh-Corinth Road in 1935 to greet visitors. One was located at the intersection of Route 57 (Hamburg-Purdy Road); the other was located at the southern edge of the park near the town of Shiloh. Entrance piers were also placed at the south entrance. Even though Pittsburg Landing lost importance as an access route to the park, it remained central to the park's organization and operations. Guide maps directed visitors to Pittsburg Landing to begin the tour even though it was located all the way across the park from the most popular visitor access points.

HEADQUARTERS AREA

With the aid of a PWA grant of \$455,000, the visitor and administrative facilities on the bluff above Pittsburg Landing were expanded. A large Greek Revival building that contained a museum, a library and staff offices was completed in 1935 at a cost of \$62,000.²⁵¹ It was located north of Pittsburg Landing Road. It supplanted the War Department's pavilion that was located just to the south. A new concession building made of

²⁴⁹ August 1939 Monthly Report, Memorandum to the Director, National Park Service from Superintendent, SNMP, September 8, 1939. SNMP Archives.

²⁵⁰ Monthly Report, August 1939, and Monthly Report, September 1942. According to the Monthly Travel Report, April, 1943, the total dropped to 60,808. SNMP Archives.

²⁵¹ Bob Leigh, [Clipping title unknown], [Newspaper unknown], April 7, 1935. SNMP Archives.

rusticated brick was erected next to the cemetery in 1936. A matching "comfort station" for whites was built adjacent to it in 1939. A pre-existing barn located just to its north was converted into restrooms for African-Americans. To aid the historic motif, the concrete wall around the cemetery was replaced with one made out of similar imitation old-style brick. The erection of an observation tower at the site was proposed but, once again, the project did not receive funding.²⁵²

New roads were established at the bluff to provide convenient access and parking to the new visitor facilities. A loop road was created off of Pittsburg Landing Road that wound in front of the visitor center. An oval-shaped lawn planted with specimen trees was established between it and the historic trace. A parking lot divided by an ornamental grass and tree covered island was placed on the east side of the administrative building. The road on the north side of the cemetery that led down to the river was maintained but a few small roads leading to a private farmstead just off Riverside Drive were removed in 1938.²⁵³ All other pre-existing intersections, such as the one at Riverside Drive and Pittsburg Landing Road, were reshaped into broad curvaceous turns.

A group of utility buildings was placed behind a hedge of trees to the north of the administrative building. The area was accessible via a small maintenance road that also led to a cul-de-sac of four employee cottages (six were planned) that were erected in the 1930s. Utility Drive, as it was called, curved around into the north end of the headquarters parking lot.

The headquarters area was a microcosm of the new NPS design scheme. Modern conveniences and contemporary park programs were introduced in a manner that designers hoped would appear neither anachronistic nor artificial. As with other areas of the park, rather than restoring the historical landscape precisely to its 1862 condition, NPS reconfigured it as a pedagogical tool to be studied via modern motor vehicles.

²⁵² Livingston to O.G. Taylor, Chief, Eastern Division, Branch of Engineering, NPS, September 13, 1933.

²⁵³ NPS, "Headquarters Area Development Plan: Part of the Master Plan, SNMP," Sheet No. 12, January 1938 and January 1941 editions. Includes map and text. Map Collection, SNMP Archives.

TOUR ROUTE

The tour route began at the headquarters area and headed southwest on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road (or Confederate Road) toward the center of the park. It bypassed the web of roads to the north of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road, including Grant Road, Calvary Road, and many smaller traces. Almost none of these roads were ever improved beyond a gravel trace. One exception was Grant Road. It was redesigned as a picturesque parkway when it became the main park entrance route in the 1960s. The section of Hamburg-Savannah Road north of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road (known as Lew Wallace Road) was never on the tour route but it was improved in the 1930s because it formed part of State Highway 22. By 1948, when the new belt road was planned, this length of road was marked for obliteration. Just west of Hamburg-Savannah Road on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road, a small road renovated by the War Department that was located between Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road and Hamburg-Purdy Road around Duncan Field, was removed.

The tour proceeded west along Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road to a gravel access road (currently called McClernand Road) that led to the Confederate Burial Trench. The loop road adjacent to the trench was broadened in the 1930s. Through the 1940s, visitors were guided straight down Corinth Road from the burial trench. In the early 1950s, they were directed back east on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road to the Illinois monument before proceeding south on Corinth Road.

Peabody Road was initially outside the tour route even though it was the access route to Rea Springs, the park's only official picnic area. Extensive redevelopment of Rea Springs was planned in the 1930s but only partially executed. Park officials developed the area in an effort to regulate the recreational use of their grounds. As one park planner opined, "indiscriminate uncontrolled picnicking results in an unsightly condition."²⁵⁴ The 1938 renovation plan included an eighty-five car parking lot, a building with restrooms and other public facilities, and various picnic grounds spread out on either side of the springs.²⁵⁵ The building was never constructed but the large

²⁵⁴ Memo from Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, National Park Service, ca.1937. SNMP Archives.

²⁵⁵ NPS, "Rea Springs Area Development Plan: Part of the Master Plan, SNMP," Sheet No. 15, January 1938 and January 1941

parking lot and a limited number of picnic grounds were created. A picnic facility for African-Americans was erected in a more secluded area off Beauregard Road in the early forties.

Rea Springs Road and several other roads cutting through Rea Field were obliterated. There was also a plan to obliterate Peabody Road between the springs and the intersection with Reconnoitering Road. The removal was planned because this stretch of road was not a part of the loop and so it was considered a distraction to visitors. The plan was never implemented.

After returning to Corinth Road, the tour bypassed Beauregard Road and Hardee Road and headed straight to Reconnoitering Road. This small gravel trace was considered to be one of the most significant battlefield roads in the park. Officials considered building a tour road next to the trace instead of improving it.²⁵⁶ This scheme was rejected but the road was not fully redeveloped. It was regraveled in 1941, but was not improved to modern widths or grades. Between 1935 and 1938, many smaller roads located in the vicinity of Reconnoitering Road were removed.²⁵⁷

After turning east on Peabody Road from Reconnoitering Road, visitors were directed north on Eastern Corinth (or Gladden Road). Maps guided them across Hamburg-Purdy Road (Federal Road) to the gravel loop road around the Wisconsin Monument and Sunken Road, and then back down to Hamburg-Purdy Road. Plans in the 1940s called for the obliteration of Eastern Corinth Road from Sunken Road north to the intersection with Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. Like so many others, this plan was never fulfilled. The infamous Sunken Road was restored as a dirt lane for hikers rather than a useable roadway. Park officials decided not to improve it because many historians considered it to be one

editions. Includes map and text. Map Collection, SNMP Archives.

²⁵⁶ Edward Zimmer, Landscape Architect, "Memo to the Superintendent, SNMP," October 26, 1945. SNMP Archives.

²⁵⁷ This observation is based on a comparison of two maps. NPS, SNMP, "Work Contemplated, 5th Enrollment Period, TN Camp MP-3," March 4, 1935, and NPS, "Roads and Trails Map, Part of the Masater Plan, SNMP," January 1938 edition. Both from the Map Collection, SNMP Archives.

of the most significant and strategic traces of the battle.²⁵⁸

In order to minimize the number of tangents off the main tour loop, the hospital site and Ohio monument site at the east end of Hamburg-Purdy Road were bypassed by the tour. Visitors were, instead, directed north on Hamburg-Savannah Road (Johnston Road) past the Johnston monument, the Peach Orchard, the War Cabin, and Bloody Pond to Riverside Drive. Once again, in order to minimize opportunities for confusion and to retain a loop road, the section of Hamburg-Savannah between Riverside Drive and Confederate Road was set for demolition. As with most other plans of this nature, it was never carried out.

The final segment of the tour loop followed Riverside Drive which ended back at Pittsburg Landing. Through the early 1950s, Riverside Drive was maintained only as a gravel road even though it was such an important link in the circuit. Continued erosion and drainage problems along the Tennessee River forced the park to raze the War Department's cement bridge at Dill Creek and replace it with a large culvert. CCC labor was employed on this project from 1940 to 1941.

The final stop on the tour was Pittsburg Landing. A huge redevelopment of the Pittsburg Landing area planned in the 1930s was completed in a reduced, modified form. Since the ferry was still in use, the Pittsburg Landing Road stretched all the way down to the river front. According to park reports, the area was one of the most popular in the park but it lacked adequate parking areas and the road down to the river was considered dangerously steep. At first, the park was going to create upper and lower parking areas divided by a figure-eight-shaped sodded median. Additional parking lots were planned for the Shiloh or Cotton Landing area just to the north. This initial plan was rejected for being "too elaborate and too expensive."²⁵⁹ Instead, the existing configuration was upgraded and expanded. A road was created that formed a circle near the river front. From the

²⁵⁸ This assertion has been challenged by park historians, including William Kay (author of the SNMP history of Sunken Road in 1957) and Stacy Allen, who contended that the lane is more a landmark of veterans' memories than of battle events.

²⁵⁹ NPS, "National Cemetery and River Front Development Plan, Part of the Master Plan, SNMP," January 1940 edition. Text. Map Collection, SNMP Archives.

circle, the road continued in a northeast direction before terminating at the river. Parking was expanded at the eastern edge of the circle. Since most of the waterfront area was densely wooded, trees appear to have been removed rather than planted at the site.

LANDSCAPE PROGRAM

Like the War Department, NPS' landscaping program was directed toward authentically representing the 1862 landscape and making the battlefield an attractive public park. It was guided by a different design philosophy, however. NPS strove to create more naturalistic-looking grounds that promoted the use of native species.²⁶⁰ Its work had a pragmatic as well as aesthetic component. The NPS minimized the War Department's underbrush clearing program, allowing forests to revert back to a more wild condition and more successfully and naturally rejuvenate themselves. Cedar guard rails were erected to protect motor vehicle passengers and to add rustication to the park landscape. The CCC crews regraded road banks, improved drainage, and planted sod, shrubs, and trees along roadsides to control erosion and to improve the "scenic effect."²⁶¹ Their work was well-documented in historic photographs which show in sequence the transformation of steep, jagged roadsides into smooth, grass-covered slopes.

The CCC planted more than 70,000 saplings throughout the park.²⁶² Trees were added to historic forest sites, at Pittsburg Landing and other newly redeveloped areas, and around monuments. Between 1937 and 1938, three of the park's most significant landscape features, Bloody Pond, Sunken Road, and Peach Orchard, were improved and restored.²⁶³ Most of the park's manpower was occupied with mowing the tremendous number of acres of sodded fields and roadsides. Public response to the park's efforts was enthusiastic. One journalist called it one of "the most

²⁶⁰ For an overview of the NPS landscape design principles see Hubbard, *Introduction to Study of Landscape Design*; Carr, *Wilderness by Design*; Davis, "Mount Vernon Memorial Highway"; and McClelland, *Building National Parks and Presenting Nature*.

²⁶¹ Charles Marshall to Verne Chatalain, Chief Historian, NPS, July 6, 1933. SNMP Archives.

²⁶² Bob Leigh, [article title unknown], [newspaper unknown], April 7, 1935. SNMP Archives.

²⁶³ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 65.

picturesque spots in the South."²⁶⁴ In an effort to uphold this reputation, Shiloh officials sought to increase their control over the area and to decrease the impact of the locals' presence in the park.

LOCAL ACCESS

When NPS took over SNMP from the War Department, the park coexisted with local commercial, agricultural, and residential interests. A church, a school, a post office, and numerous residences were located within the park. By the 1930s, two state highways (Tennessee Highways 22 and 57) were incorporated into the park road system which greatly encouraged the use of park roads by local traffic. NPS felt these mundane enterprises undermined and detracted from SNMP's lofty mission to illustrate the nationally significant aspects of the landscape. In order to reduce the local presence, SNMP passed a regulation on August 1, 1935, that banned the grazing or keeping of poultry or livestock (except horses) within its limits and continued the War Department's efforts to remove inholdings.²⁶⁵

The resident landscape architect, Edward Zimmer, noted with frustration in 1945 that "local interests had and still have a strong influence on the roads and road system."²⁶⁶ He blamed what he considered a poorly organized tour route on the continued intertwining of local interests with park uses. Zimmer was not alone in his lament. The NPS in general had little tolerance for public use of park roads. The Acting Director of the NPS wrote, "ingress and egress over park roads will not be authorized and...the present use of park lands for such purposes will be permitted only until time as other ingress and egress to public streets and highways, become available."²⁶⁷ The relationship between the park and its neighbors was not always contentious, however. In 1953, a group of local residents formed the Shiloh

²⁶⁴ Bob Leigh, [article title unknown], [newspaper unknown], April 7, 1935. SNMP Archives.

²⁶⁵ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 58.

²⁶⁶ Edward S. Zimmer, Resident Landscape Architect, "A Basic Plan for the Development of SNMP," April 20, 1945. SNMP Archives.

²⁶⁷ Acting Director, NPS, to L.G. Heider, Vicksburg, October 16, 1935. SNMP Archives.

Park Citizens Association to assist in its development.²⁶⁸

Shiloh-Corinth Road was a special case due to its location outside the boundaries of the park. Because of the road's mixed use, NPS planners debated over the form and style of Shiloh-Corinth Road improvements in the early 1930s. There was some discussion of incorporating park road features into the highway but the resident landscape architect Robert Andrews concluded that, due to its design, it was "impossible to make it a parkway in the true sense of the word." He determined that the road would better serve the park's needs as a highway because the "artificiality" of that road would accentuate the naturalistic style of the interior park roads.²⁶⁹

Even though they did not attempt to change the road's basic character, park officials devoted considerable manpower and supplies to its upkeep. Shiloh-Corinth Road was one of the largest projects for New Deal work crews. They regraded and landscaped the roadsides, realigned dangerous curves, and replaced old bridges with more modern culverts. Cement stone masonry with straight beds was used for all head walls.²⁷⁰ The concrete road surface also required massive repairs. Mud jacks were used to push up sunken concrete slabs. The surface was patched with asphalt after it was determined that concrete patches were ineffective.²⁷¹ Despite the NPS policy that banned the striping of road surfaces, SNMP Superintendent Livingston received permission to paint a center line down Shiloh-Corinth Road because it was outside the confines of the park and because it carried such heavy traffic.²⁷² Long after the main reconstruction projects were completed, the road's constant use required frequent patching and shoulder repairs.

In 1947, it was estimated that 95 percent of the traffic on Shiloh-Corinth Road was for non-park purposes. Twenty-eight

²⁶⁸ Shedd, *History of Shiloh National Military Park*, 61.

²⁶⁹ Robert W. Andrews, Shiloh Resident Landscape Architect, to Kenneth Simmons, Assistant Landscape Architect, SE Field Office, Chattanooga, TN, June 18, 1934. SNMP Archives.

²⁷⁰ Andrews to Kenneth Simmons, June 18, 1934. SNMP Archives.

²⁷¹ Oliver Taylor, Deputy Chief Engineer, to Superintendent Livingston, September 13, 1934. SNMP Archives.

²⁷² Livingston to NPS Director, December 3, 1935. SNMP Archives.

filling stations, six churches, three schools, forty-six new homes built since 1945, and over twenty businesses were located along the route. Heavy trucks loaded with gravel and other supplies for the construction of TVA's Pickwick dam up river added further stress to the already busy park road.²⁷³ Because of the tremendous level of commercial and residential uses and the high maintenance costs, the viability, practicality and appropriateness of keeping Shiloh-Corinth Road under the auspices of the park was seriously questioned. Shiloh Superintendent James Holland declared, "The park is 4 miles long; the Shiloh-Corinth Road is 17 miles. The park, therefore, is like a 4-foot dog with a 17-foot tail. An amputation is needed."²⁷⁴

There were several unsuccessful attempts to deed the road to the states of Mississippi and Tennessee beginning in the 1930s.²⁷⁵ At the same time, discussions began regarding the creation of a belt road to reroute commercial traffic around the park. "Thus," Zimmer stated, "returning the park road to its proper use."²⁷⁶ He sought TVA sponsorship of a by-pass road that would run along the western edge of the park and connect the newly formed northern extension of Highway 22 to Crump with the new TVA road from Shiloh to Pickwick to the south.²⁷⁷ The new road was intended to redirect the high-speed commercial and residential traffic away from the park so that "visitors can make safe, leisurely, and orderly visits to the historic sites within the park."²⁷⁸ Planners envisioned closing several other entrances to the grounds to further minimize the intrusion of local traffic. They believed they could create an ideal park tour route that served the needs of history instead of the local populace.

²⁷³ James Holland, "Shiloh-Corinth Road (Tennessee Highway 22 and Mississippi Highway 2)," SNMP, March, 1947. SNMP Archives.

²⁷⁴ Holland, "Shiloh-Corinth Road."

²⁷⁵ Memo from Herbert Evison, Acting Regional Director, 1937. SNMP Archives.

²⁷⁶ Edward S. Zimmer, Resident Landscape Architect, "A Basic Plan for the Development of SNMP," April 20, 1945. SNMP Archives.

²⁷⁷ Zimmer, "A Basic Plan for the Development of SNMP." SNMP Archives.

²⁷⁸ Landscape Architect Report, "Proposed Belt Road Project 3-A-1, SNMP," undated. SNMP Archives.

MISSION 66 AND AFTERMATH, 1954-1980

After the burst of construction and renovation activities in the 1930s and early 1940s, Shiloh, like many national parks, suffered from neglect during the next ten to fifteen years. Most of the nation's resources were devoted to war efforts instead of public parks. Tourists complained of bad roads, dilapidated buildings, and many other elements of the parks' infrastructure that were in great disrepair. The problems of antiquated facilities and deteriorated road systems were compounded in the mid 1950s by a huge increase in park visitors. The rise in personal wealth and the expanding popularity of the auto vacation enabled millions of Americans to tour national parks across the nation. Visitation at Shiloh tripled between 1951 and 1961. More than one million visitors were recorded in 1960.²⁷⁹ This huge influx of automobiles and humanity overtaxed the parks not only because they were rundown but also because they were designed to handle much fewer numbers.

The National Park Service responded to the situation with a unified and systematic program that encompassed all 180 parks under its control. Known as Mission 66, the plan's purpose was to improve visitor access, update facilities, and intensify site interpretation while maintaining each park's natural and historic integrity. The process of developing, coordinating, and implementing master plans for individual parks was to be completed within ten years, by 1966, the fiftieth anniversary of the National Park Service.

The Mission 66 Prospectus for Shiloh noted that "future development will seek an effective compromise between preservation of the historic character of the fields and necessary improvements on the field which add to the visitors' comfort, convenience or understanding."²⁸⁰ This statement embodied the NPS's rather difficult task of preserving its resources while accommodating throngs of new visitors. Its objectives were fulfilled by expanding visitor centers to include more museum displays, educational programs, restrooms, and other

²⁷⁹ "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of SNMP, Mission 66 Edition," Vol. I, Chapter 1: Objectives & Policies, April, 1961, 5. SNMP Archives. Current park historian Stacy Allen noted that the park must have counted every vehicle on the state highway, not just tourist traffic, in order to reach this number.

²⁸⁰ "Mission 66 Prospectus: SNMP," August 19, 1959. SNMP Archives.

facilities. Unlike the park architecture of NPS's first fifty years, these new buildings reflected more modern and sleek design tastes instead of the rustic work of old.²⁸¹ Many roads were realigned to accommodate larger, faster moving automobiles, not least of which were oversized tour buses. Roadside interpretative signs and stations with audio recordings were added in most parks. Staff was also increased to complete the massive renovations and to aid in park interpretation.

At Shiloh, the driving force behind Mission 66 was not only the improvement of park facilities but also the removal of activities that were deemed incompatible with the battlefield setting. These included commercial traffic in the park, as well as recreational activities, especially picnicking, which the park officials considered inappropriate for such hallowed ground. Shiloh's Mission 66 plan stated,

Amusement and entertainment, in the ordinary sense, would have little place in an area where more than 100,000 men fought desperately for their convictions....Development must aid the visitor in understanding and appreciating the conflict that occurred at Shiloh, but it must not distract him, nor encourage him to distract others, who, for a short time, are looking into the past to seek enlightenment and inspiration.²⁸²

In order to focus greater attention on the battlefield, the Master Plan called for the alteration of certain roads to better control park access and to simplify the tour route, the reduction of picnicking on the main battle grounds, the addition of educational and interpretative facilities and programs, and the continued preservation of historic fields and forests.²⁸³

The park's historic efforts to separate local residential and commercial traffic from the park proper culminated in the opening of the new State Highway 22, also known as the belt or bypass road, in 1962. Four years prior, in May 1958, Shiloh conveyed 51

²⁸¹ McClelland, *Building National Parks*.

²⁸² "Mission 66 Prospectus: SNMP," August 19, 1959. SNMP Archives.

²⁸³ "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of SNMP, Mission 66 Edition," April 1961. SNMP Archives.

acres to the state of Tennessee to be used for the construction of a highway that would reroute non-park traffic west of the park's main tourist area.²⁸⁴ In return, the State agreed to build the new road and to designate stretches of old Route 22 and Route 142 within the SNMP limits as the park's domain.²⁸⁵ The new Highway 22 was constructed with federal funds by the Tennessee Highway Department. The Shiloh-Corinth Road was transferred to the State of Tennessee after the federal government made improvements to it.

According to the 1958 Shiloh Annual Report, the purpose of the new route was to "separate the fast, heavy, and dangerous through travel from the Park visitor seeking to derive inspiration or pleasure from a casual trip over the historic Battlefield Park Tour Route...[and] to improve local public relations by 75 percent by providing a 65-mile-per-hour by-pass road outside the Park proper."²⁸⁶ The park administrators also agreed to donate 151 acres in the western section of the park to the State of Tennessee to be used for recreational purposes. Officials sought to satisfy the local residents' need for public park facilities without compromising their own mission.

In 1963, Shiloh developed a picnic facility at Sowell Field, with the intention of transferring it to the State of Tennessee, which never occurred.²⁸⁷ It was accessible via the 22 bypass, approximately one mile south of the main entrance. At the time, it was believed to be a site far from the main battlefield area.²⁸⁸ The picnic area was created along a single loop road running perpendicular to Highway 22. It contains a covered pavilion and tables nestled in the woods. The outlying picnic area was created in order to remove picnicking along roadsides in

²⁸⁴ "Preliminary Report, 1958 Fiscal Year, SNMP." SNMP Archives.

²⁸⁵ "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 1962, 16. SNMP Archives.

²⁸⁶ "Preliminary Report, 1958 Fiscal Year, SNMP," SNMP Archives. The maximum speed is currently 45 mph.

²⁸⁷ Information about the erection of the Sowell Field picnic area is derived from "Design Analysis: Picnic Area - Sowell Field," chap. 5 in "Master Plan for the Preservation and Use of Shiloh National Military Park," (1963). SNMP Archives.

²⁸⁸ According to Allen, significant combat occurred here on both the first and second day of battle, but the site was not interpreted as such in the 1960s.

the park and, thereby, minimize activities that detracted from the battlefield history. The Rea Springs picnic area was not removed but its use as a luncheon site was not encouraged.

To "enable the visitor to feel a sense of personal identification with the [historical] persons and events," park officials sought to improve interpretation.²⁸⁹ The visitor center was extended to include an auditorium and expanded museum displays. A thirty-three minute film called "SHILOH: Portrait of a Battle," was made in the early 1950s to acquaint visitors with the battle events.²⁹⁰ It is still shown several times daily in the visitor center auditorium. Additional trained personnel were hired to provide lectures and guided tours to the public.

Half of the estimated \$1.5 million Mission 66 budget was devoted to roads and trails.²⁹¹ Although approximately 150 people still visited the park via excursion boats in the early 1960s, 95 percent of the tourists came to the park by automobile.²⁹² Park officials wanted visitors to travel safely through the park on modern roadways that, nevertheless, remained true to the "historic scene."²⁹³ They considered the park tour route the most important interpretative tool. The Mission 66 Master Plan called for the improvement of the tour route so that the battlefield story was told in as coherent and chronological an order as possible, with points of interest clearly marked and described.²⁹⁴ Almost all interior roads were paved and improved to modern standards and some were altered or obliterated in an attempt to organize the circulation system into a logical loop. The road work was mostly completed by park forces, but some reconstruction

²⁸⁹ "Objectives and Policies: Significant Values," chap. 1 in "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," vol. I, (April 1962). SNMP Archives.

²⁹⁰ The current twenty-five minute version is a modification of the original longer version.

²⁹¹ "Final Prospectus, Mission 66," April 25, 1956, 9. SNMP Archives.

²⁹² "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," vol. VI, Appendix, 2, Accessibility. SNMP Archives.

²⁹³ "Final Prospectus, Mission 66," April 25, 1956. SNMP Archives.

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

was done by contracts with the Bureau of Public Roads or by local highway departments.²⁹⁵

The creation of the bypass road required a new entrance to the park. Officials first proposed creating a new road at the north end of the park but chose to use Grant Road (historic Savannah-Pittsburg Landing Road) instead.²⁹⁶ As in previous years, they hoped to reduce the number of entrances to the park in order to better control and protect the grounds and to better direct visitors through the park. Grant Road was widened to facilitate two-way traffic leading to and from the visitor center where visitors could receive maps and other information before proceeding to the tour route.

The road system around the visitor center area was the most reconstructed area of the park. To minimize cross-traffic, Pittsburg Landing Road was realigned and divided into two separate roads. Grant Road no longer intersected with Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road at the Indiana monument. It was extended and Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road was redirected to form parallel curvaceous roadways. The oval loop road in front of the visitor center was obliterated so the broad lawn was unbroken by intervening traffic. The parking area east of the visitor center was expanded to its present form which can accommodate eighty-three cars and three buses. The connector roads between the visitor parking area and the staff residential and maintenance areas was removed. Nine parking spaces were added to the southwest corner of the cemetery.

The intersection between Pittsburg Landing Road and Riverside Drive was altered so that the latter began slightly farther to the southwest (where the pavilion once stood). A small lane was cut in the wedge between the roads so traffic coming from Riverside Drive could more easily maneuver the turn east down to Pittsburg Landing. As in other areas of the park, new directional markers and road surface arrows were provided to guide visitors through a confusing intersection of roads. Some historic markers and cannon were even moved to accommodate these road adjustments.

²⁹⁵ "Maintenance," in "Final Prospectus, Mission 66," April 25, 1956. SNMP Archives.

²⁹⁶ "Circulation System: Roads" in "Final Prospectus, Mission 66," April 25, 1956. SNMP Archives.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 96)

Some of the changes made to roads within the main circulation system include: the modification of intersections so buses could negotiate turns, the paving of Confederate Burial Trench loop, McClernard Road, Reconnoitering Road, and Riverside Drive, the resurfacing of the Hornet's Nest loop, and the replacement of wooden bridges with concrete and metal structures on Reconnoitering Road. Beauregard Road, Wallace Road north of Pittsburg-Corinth Road, and Corinth Road south of Reconnoitering Road were not improved and remained gravel traces. There were plans to reduce several sections of road to historic traces, such as large sections of Hamburg-Purdy Road, Peabody Road between Corinth Road and Reconnoitering Road, Hamburg-Savannah Road between Riverside Drive and Pittsburg-Corinth Road, and Eastern Corinth Road between Hamburg-Purdy Road and Pittsburg-Corinth Road among others, to historic traces but the work was never completed.²⁹⁷

Gravel and asphalt pull-off areas were created near significant spots on the tour route to improve the flow of traffic. According to the Shiloh reports, tourists continued to pull off the roads and damage vegetation.²⁹⁸ As in the past, the park administrators were simply responding and adapting to tourists' habits. The Master Plan noted the creation of a pull-off area parallel to the road at the following locations: "the line of siege guns, the Michigan monument, the UDC monument, the Wallace mortuary monument, the Pittsburg-Corinth end of Sunken Road, the site of Ruggles Battery, the Confederate Burial Trench, Water Oaks Pond, the Illinois Monument, Shiloh Church, Fraley Field, Peabody monument, Sunken Road, Wisconsin Monument, Putnam stump monument, the Johnston monument, the Peach Orchard (also used for the War Cabin and Bloody Pond), the tent hospital site, the Minnesota monument, the Louisiana monument, the Alabama monument, the Indian mounds, and the Riverside overlook."²⁹⁹

TOUR ROUTE

Despite park officials' proclamation about radically altering the tour route, by the end of the Mission 66 period, only a few minor

²⁹⁷ "Circulation System: Roads" in "Final Prospectus, Mission 66," April 25, 1956. SNMP Archives.

²⁹⁸ "Circulation: Parking Areas" in "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 1962. SNMP Archives.

²⁹⁹ "Circulation System: Roads" in "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 1962. SNMP Archives.

adjustments had been made. The route began at the visitor center and headed west on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road toward the largest Confederate Burial Trench. Instead of zig-zagging back east on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road from Sherman Road, vehicles were directed south on Corinth Road. The tour route remained the same as in the 1940s until the intersection of Eastern Corinth Road and Hamburg-Purdy Road. Here, visitors were no longer directed north to the loop around the Wisconsin Monument at Sunken Road. This section of the park remained open for vehicular traffic; it was just excluded from the prescribed tour route. Visitors were instead led east on Hamburg-Purdy Road to finish the route as prescribed in earlier guidebooks, along Hamburg-Savannah Road, to Riverside Drive, and, finally, to Pittsburg Landing. Between 1955 and 1968, stops on the tour route were reduced in number from twenty-one to fourteen.³⁰⁰ All of the stops eliminated were for monuments. This decision reflects a shift in Civil War commemoration from the memorialization of specific units and men to the representation of the incidents and artifacts of the battle.

Although the protection of natural resources was an important hallmark of NPS' Mission 66 program, Shiloh officials were more concerned with the cultural landscape than the local ecology. "The natural setting of the Battlefield is touched upon only where it is woven into the story of the fighting," explained one of the Mission 66 master plans.³⁰¹ By the 1960s, SNMP encompassed 3,762 acres, 3,115 of which were forested.³⁰² Park officials complained of the poor health of the woods due, they claimed, to severe ice storms and to the War Department's forest burning program which NPS staff believed deterred regrowth. In the 1960s, pine trees and cedars were planted within the predominately oak forest for aesthetic appeal. According to reports, the evergreens added darker textures to the forest in summer months and green foliage in winter.³⁰³ As in previous

³⁰⁰ This figure is based on a comparison of guidebook maps from 1955 to 1968. SNMP Archives.

³⁰¹ "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 1962. SNMP Archives.

³⁰² Section E: Protection, in "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," vol. III, November 1960, 2. SNMP Archives.

³⁰³ Section D: Natural History and Historical Background, in "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," vol. III, November 1960, 4. SNMP Archives.

generations, the historic fields were maintained and miles of road shoulders were regularly mowed.³⁰⁴ Heavy undergrowth was cut to improve visibility and access to monuments and historic fields.³⁰⁵ Efforts to control the erosion along the banks of the river also continued unabated.

By the mid-twentieth century, the park no longer served as the site of personal reunions for veterans arriving by steamboat but was envisioned as a text of Civil War history to be read, with guidebook in hand, through the window of a family car or a commercial tour bus. The changes wrought by the Mission 66 program helped facilitate this transition.

MASTER PLAN, 1980-1981

In 1980, Shiloh National Military Park developed a "new" General Management Plan that contained many old and familiar themes and goals. Like earlier plans, it was designed under the basic tenet of "improving the visitor experience and preserving the historic battlefield."³⁰⁶ The main priorities were to protect the park's resources by limiting access, controlling river erosion, and acquiring abutting land parcels; to improve the operations of the park by creating a one-way tour loop and expanding interpretation; and to enhance visitor facilities by updating and enlarging buildings and parking lots. Even as park officials proposed further alterations of park land, they continued to extol the historic integrity of the site. Perhaps confusing a commemorative park landscape with an historic one, a park proposal stated, "Neatly manicured lawn areas and stately oaks with their protective shade provide a memorial setting and impress visitors with a sense of beauty and tranquility that allows them to slip easily back into the past."³⁰⁷

In 1973, Edwin C. Bearss, a National Park Service historian, created a new historic base map, the first in forty years.

³⁰⁴ "Mission 66 Prospectus: SNMP," August 26, 1959. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁵ Section E: Protection, "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 2. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁶ NPS, "Final Environmental Impact Statement for the Proposed General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan, Shiloh National Military Park," 1981, 1. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁷ NPS, General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan for Shiloh National Military Park, ca. 1981, 1. SNMP Archives.

Bearss' map was considered a valuable guide for landscape development plans. Even with the map in hand, the new SNMP plan frequently compromised the park's goal of re-establishing the historic 1862 landscape in favor of creating a well-organized and attractive park.

By 1979, 95 percent of the over 570,000 annual visitors arrived in private vehicles to tour the 3,972 acre park.³⁰⁸ When compared to the few hundred that arrived by steamer in the 1890s, it is no wonder that park officials were preoccupied with accommodating the great influx of tourist traffic. The tourists that arrived were a whole different breed than their predecessors, who were often personally acquainted with the events of the war. Ideas regarding the interpretation of the war and how it should be presented in the park had changed. Interpretative programs were expanded to include "The Three Stories of Shiloh."³⁰⁹ In addition to the battle story, which was improved to include not just the specific events but the broader context of the conflict within the Civil War, the park's archeological and environmental resources were highlighted. Renewed attention was given to the Indian mounds by increasing informational displays at the mounds' site and at the visitor center. The environmental agenda entailed educating the public about the park's natural ecosystems, including the Tennessee River basin, and relating the events of the battle to environmental factors, such as topography and vegetation cover.

According to the 1980s plan, the main mechanism for improving visitors' comprehension of the "Three Stories of Shiloh" was through the tour route. Park officials believed that it was imperative to change the course and character of the tour route so that the battle was represented in a seamless chronology of incidents and troop movements. The existing tour started at Pittsburg Landing, the scene of action at the battle's halfway point, progressed to the final area of action, and then reached the location of the first morning of action. This route was considered confusing for visitors trying to follow the battle narrative. The great number of park entrances, the predominance

³⁰⁸ NPS, *General Management Plan*, 15, 86. SNMP Archives.

³⁰⁹ NPS, "Draft Environmental Statement for the Proposed General Management Plan and Development Concept Plan, Shiloh National Military Park" 1980, 26-28; and NPS, *General Management Plan*, 39-42. SNMP Archives.

of cross-intersections within the tour route, and the prevalence of local commuter traffic within the park were other factors that were considered impediments to the park's mission. Planners envisioned a park that was isolated from this local traffic and that offered "a smoother, more well-ordered, logical tour route that with one-way circulation will be free of cross-over traffic conflict points."³¹⁰

Like other strategies of the past, the 1980s plan called for a reduction and renovation of park entrances so that a one-way park road loop could be created and park police could better patrol the property. Officials hoped to reduce the number of entrances from four to one.³¹¹ The main park entrance was to be relocated from the intersection of Grant Road and Highway 22 to the intersection of Hamburg-Purdy Road and Highway 22, roughly two miles to the south. Grant Road was to be remade as a service road and closed to the public. The logic behind the move was that visitors could enter the park closer to the site where the battle started and could exit near the place where it ended at Water Oaks Pond. They hoped to create a Visitor Contact Station, which would be a one-story 6,500 square foot building, along Hamburg-Purdy Road at Ben Howell Field in order to orient incoming visitors to the battle and the park. They believed that the degradation caused to the historic field by the construction of the building and a 150 car and fifteen bus or recreational vehicle parking lot was justified because of the interpretative programs the facility would provide. They also envisioned the site as a base for a shuttle service through the park, in the event that the park became too overcrowded to permit individual vehicles to enter.³¹²

In addition to the creation of the Hamburg-Purdy entrance was the planned development of a Hamburg bypass road along the southern boundary of the park.³¹³ This new 20' wide, 6,000' long public road would connect with Bark Road which leads into Highway 22. Its purpose was to divert local traffic out of the park proper, thereby enabling the park to close off its southern entrances at Eastern Corinth Road and Hamburg Road. In 1974, 21 percent of

³¹⁰ NPS, "Draft Environmental Statement," 122, 16. SNMP Archives.

³¹¹ NPS, General Management Plan, 44-45. SNMP Archives.

³¹² Ibid., 63. SNMP Archives.

³¹³ "Master Plan, Mission 66 Edition," 1964. SNMP Archives.

park users were "nonrecreational" visitors, meaning local commuters.³¹⁴ As in the past, park officials viewed their presence in the park as a hindrance to the park's mission. The most significant drawbacks were that the road traversed historic ground, and that the scheme required local commuters to travel an extra two and a half miles to reach the intersection of Highway 22 and Hamburg-Purdy Road.

REVISED TOUR ROUTE

The revised tour route plan altered the existing tour's starting and ending points but did not radically change its course. The proposed tour began at Shiloh Church and progressed in a counterclockwise direction to Fraley Field, up to a turnaround loop at the Hornet's Nest on Eastern Corinth Road, east to the Hospital site loop, north along Hamburg-Savannah Road, to Riverside Drive and then to a resting point at the visitor center at Pittsburg Landing.³¹⁵ The visitor center traffic patterns were to be rearranged so that vehicles used the existing entry to the parking lot but exited on a new road to be created behind the visitor center building. The section of old Pittsburg Landing Road and the other interlocking lanes in front of the building were to be eradicated to accommodate a large public gathering space or demonstration area. There were also plans to expand the parking lot to accommodate more cars, buses, and recreational vehicles. The tour continued along Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road to a shorter more direct route around the Confederate Burial Trench before ending at Water Oaks Pond where the battle reportedly ended on the second day. Vehicles exited the park at the new park access route at Hamburg-Purdy Road.

The new tour route required extensive alterations of the historic traces of Hamburg-Purdy Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. Park officials also sought to convert the right-angle turns of many other historic alignments into smooth, broad, arching curves that formed a continuous tour loop. For example, maps show the conversion of the ninety degree turns at the intersections of Corinth and Reconnoitering Roads and of Reconnoitering and Peabody Roads into broad arcs. The change would enable visitors to easily travel from one road to the next, and it would enable larger recreational vehicles and tour buses to negotiate the

³¹⁴ NPS, "Draft Environmental Statement," 1980, 64.

³¹⁵ For a complete description of the proposed tour route see NPS, General Management Plan, 53-58. SNMP Archives.

intersections more safely. The plan proposed returning some sections of roadway to historic traces that would not be used in the tour in order to clarify the route and eradicate so-called "confusing" intersections. These included Hamburg-Purdy Road between Water Oaks Pond and Eastern Corinth Road, and Eastern Corinth Road from the Hornet's Nest to Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. There was also a proposal to realign Riverside Drive to a course farther to the west to avoid the chronic threat of erosion at its historic location.³¹⁶

Although the park roads would become one-way streets, the widths of the roads were to be maintained in order to accommodate both motor vehicles and bicycles. Repaving the surfaces with a brown asphalt was suggested to provide "visual continuity" throughout the park and to mimic the historic color of the roads.³¹⁷ With these alterations to the historic road system, planners envisioned that the site would be a tightly-organized, clearly-legible, and easily-maneuverable historic park.

LANDSCAPE PROGRAMS

Continuing its efforts to gain greater control of the area and the ways that visitors experienced it, the park hoped to acquire more land in and adjacent to the park. The park planned to purchase the Shiloh Church property and remaining residential lots, and also sought to buy the Livingston property at the west side of the park and a long tract of land on the east bank of the Tennessee River, in order to establish "aesthetic easements" that would protect the park's view sheds.

The 1980s landscape program maintained the park's historic goal of establishing "a beautiful Nineteenth Century rural setting."³¹⁸ As in years past, the idyllic commemorative landscape envisioned embodied contemporary landscape tastes as much as historic realities. Park planners placed a greater significance on landscape patterns, rather than on specific structures. These broader features were seen as vital to the progress and outcome of the battle in ways that the smaller elements were not. The basis for the landscape plan was Ed Bearrs' 1973 historic base map. Planners sought to remove many of the twentieth century

³¹⁶ NPS, "Draft Environmental Statement," 1980, 161. SNMP Archives.

³¹⁷ Ibid., 122. SNMP Archives.

³¹⁸ Ibid., 90. SNMP Archives.

natural and structural additions to the park grounds that they believed intruded on the historic site. They continued the previous generations' work of reestablishing historic fields. Special interest was given to Fraley Field because it was so thickly overgrown with trees that it was hardly recognizable. With the exception of some old growth specimens, many exotic ornamental plants introduced in the 1930s were removed. Mimosa, juniper, and Eastern red cedar were scorned as "scenic intrusions upon the historic integrity of the battlefield."³¹⁹ The old superintendent's house (ca. 1915) on Hamburg-Purdy Road and the old south entrance station were also slated for demolition. Some fields were leased for agriculture production and others mowed infrequently in order to foster a more rustic and natural appearance. The 1980s plan included provisions for developing an erosion control program along the ever-degrading Tennessee River bank.

The estimated cost of the 1980s plan was \$2,500,000.³²⁰ The plan required major revisions in the way the park was laid out and how visitors toured it. By seeking to convert the park into a finely-tuned circuit, park officials were narrowing the options for viewing the battlefield landscape. They limited the way the park could be experienced and the battle could be interpreted. None of the plans could be implemented, of course, until the park received revenues. Waiting for funds is a long and frustrating process that has continued to the time of the writing of this paper.

CURRENT PARK AND LANDSCAPE ISSUES, 1998

The lack of funding to implement the projects of the 1980s General Management Plan was, according to current Shiloh Superintendent Woody Harrell, "a blessing in disguise."³²¹ Harrell described the program as "not having enough appreciation for protecting the historic road system."³²² He argued that the

³¹⁹ NPS, General Management Plan, 80. SNMP Archives.

³²⁰ Ibid., 123. SNMP Archives.

³²¹ The following information regarding the contemporary plans and agenda is based on two interviews with Superintendent Woody Harrell conducted during the summer of 1998. The first one took place in person in the Shiloh headquarters on June 5, and the second took place over the phone on September 10, 1998.

³²² Interview, September 10, 1998.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 104)

creation of a bypass road on the south boundary would have desecrated battlefield land in pristine condition and that the reorientation of the tour route wantonly ignored historic road patterns.

He did not, however, disagree with the general plan to limit public access to the park. Harrell would like to establish a single entrance and exit, and to be able to lock the gates to the park at night. He feels it would make the park safer because the limited park patrol force has difficulties monitoring the park when it is open twenty-four hours a day. If it were ever gated, the superintendent would like to reestablish loop roads to some secluded areas. The culturally-rich Jones Field is now isolated from tourist traffic on the unimproved historic traces of Cavalry Road and Sherman Road.

Gating the park is a long term goal of park planners. There are, however, more immediate concerns. One of Harrell's top priorities is the reestablishment of motor vehicle access to the Shiloh Indian Mounds National Historic Landmark along Riverside Drive. The mounds predate the battle by several hundred years but they have always been an important part of the park landscape. A recent dedication ceremony that was attended by local Congressmen brought greater exposure to the historic site and created a greater imperative to include it on the tour route. The 1.5 mile access road has been closed to traffic since the early 1990s because of severe river bank erosion problems. In some areas, the asphalt pavement hangs dangerously over steep precipices with nothing to support it from below. Before the route can be reopened, the river bank will need extensive and expensive erosion control and roadway repairs. The estimated cost for the rock wall alone is between \$6 to \$7 million.

Another concern is the realignment of traffic patterns at the visitor center area. Plans are nearly complete that will eliminate the 1960s figure-eight pattern of road crossings and will reestablish the old historic trace down to the river. The parking lots will be relocated and redesigned to accommodate trailers and other large recreational vehicles. More routine road work priorities include fixing potholes, sealing cracks in concrete slabs, replacing culverts, and adding superelevation or banking to curves.

Most of SNMP's contemporary plans for park improvements are locked in a financial impasse. At the request of the U.S. Congress, the Federal Highway Administration promised the park

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 105)

\$11.25 million to be disbursed in five annual installments on the condition that the State of Tennessee match the allocation with a contribution of 20 percent of the federal donation, or \$2.3 million. The park administration is still struggling to convince state officials to contribute to their road building enterprises. Unfortunately, as long as the funding is in limbo, the construction program is as well.

Throughout the park's history, administrators sought to maintain autonomy over the road system and to reduce the impact of local traffic. Congress' requests for state support is particularly ironic now because it coincides with attempts to block local residents passage through the park. Although the state highways are no longer routed through SNMP, the well-maintained park roads are still attractive to local residents and commuters. When Harrell recently suggested closing off the park entrances at Eastern Corinth Road and at Hamburg-Purdy Road, residents living south of the park protested. They argued that using nearby Bark Road instead of the park roads (which are in better shape than the county road) was an undue hardship. Due to a lack of funding and of political will, the debate over the uses of the roads has at least temporarily abated.

While officials await funding for large scale improvements, routine maintenance projects, such as mowing fields and roadsides, and clearing forests, continue. In the summer of 1998, trees were razed in portions of historic Larkin-Bell Field, which is located across from the hospital site on Hamburg-Purdy Road. The intentions were to reestablish the historic landscape and, more pragmatically, to help prevent forest fires.

One of the most common visitor complaints concerns getting lost while trying to find their way out of the park. The tour route ends at the intersection of Hamburg-Savannah Road and Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road without any indication of how to proceed to the park exit. A portion of this year's budget was used to erect directional signs to guide visitors west down Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road to Highway 22.

The tremendous amount of resources devoted to park roads reflects their central role in the park experience. The park is designed to keep visitors moving through it. Pull-off areas along roadsides invite visitors to briefly read a sign or investigate a significant historic site. However, there are few facilities for sitting or relaxing in the park. Through the mid-twentieth century, Rea Springs was an extremely popular picnic area. Park

officials encouraged its recreational use by adding tables and concrete grills. Since Harrell's tenure, such activities are discouraged because he believes they are incompatible with the solemn nature of the battlefield grounds where many soldiers died and many bodies are still buried. He removed grills and tables from the Rea Springs area soon after his arrival. The visitor center complex, where many visitors seek picnic grounds, is also devoid of accommodations. Its broad lawn was once a popular gathering place, but it now serves more ornamental purposes. Picnicking is allowed anywhere in the park, but visitors are encouraged to use the picnic pavilion on Highway 22, which is somewhat far from the tour route and headquarters area.

In recent years, an average of 500,000 to 600,000 people visited Shiloh National Military Park annually. It has at least a hundred times more visitors than during its first years of existence.³²³ This substantial number of visitors still basically travel the same road system as their early predecessors and the battle participants. Except for the construction at the visitor center area, the most significant changes to the roadways were the great reduction in their number and the introduction of better engineered surface materials and structural details. Despite these modernizations, the park still produces an eerie sense of the 1862 battle, according to several tourists' accounts. Whether creeping over Eastern Corinth Road as it crosses Sunken Road or driving past the Review Field along Hamburg-Purdy Road, the landscape inspires a romantic idealization of the bloody conflict. The roads provide access to particular sites but also to tangible patterns of an historic setting. The landscape and roads actualized the memory and historical interpretation of the battlefield, perhaps more than the actual physical characteristics of it.

Transforming a common rural landscape into a military park entails more than simply posting signs. Some remnants of the vernacular landscape are restored and others are razed. In the case of Shiloh, these selections tell us more about the memories and meanings of the battle, of the war, and of public parks, than about the historic realities. Roads are a ubiquitous part of the Shiloh landscape. Digging below their surfaces reveals traces of more than just old road beds. The transportation networks vividly chronicle battle events, Civil War history, changing

³²³ The statistics were provided by Superintendent Harrell. Shiloh is apparently the sixth to eighth most visited Civil War park.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 107)

technologies, ideas of national park experiences and aesthetics. They also record the ways that these ideas interact with local identities and concerns. Touring Shiloh National Military Park roads does not simply take visitors back in time. It also brings them in contact with complex artifacts of national heritage and identity.

Appendix 1: ROADS

1. Current Road Name: Tennessee State Highway 22 [portion]
Other Names: N/A
Material: Asphalt
Length: 3.4 miles (portion in park property)
Width: 66' right-of-way

Location: Highway 22 is a state road that extends from the Mississippi border north through the state of Tennessee to its northwestern border with Kentucky. The section that cuts through SNMP extends roughly along the park's western border, from the town of Shiloh north to a sixth of a mile past Pittsburg Landing Road.

Description: The route was created in the 1960s to divert local traffic away from Shiloh-Corinth Road (the old Route 22) and out of the heart of the park.

Highway 22 is a two-lane asphalt highway with a center yellow line and bordering white lines. The posted speed limit is 45 mph, but most drivers exceed it. The route has broad curves with some steep grades. There are grass-covered ditches for road surface drainage. At the park entrance at Pittsburg Landing Road, Highway 22 forms a Y-intersection. The road broadens out into two lanes in either direction. The lanes are separated by grass medians located on either side of the entry road. As drivers move south through the park land, the landscape changes from picturesque battlefield park scenery of historic fields, monuments, and specimen trees to much more modest forest groves edged by mowed grass near the road. The wooded area replicates historic forest zones. The route is posted as a bike route.

Significant Features: Besides the decorous entry way at Pittsburg Landing Road, the most significant features of the route are the picnic pavilion area located on the west side of the road and the marker for the CCC camp with accompanying pull-off area. There is also a pull-off area on the east side of the road adjacent to Jones Field where there are several monuments and markers positioned.

2. Current Road Name: Pittsburg Landing Road

Other Names: Grant Road (1936-1993)

Material: Asphalt

Length: .8 miles

Width: 20'

Location: This is the main entry road to the park. It connects Highway 22 to the visitor center and deadends at Pittsburg Landing.

Description: The War Department improved the road to a gravel lane in the 1890s. It was excluded from the tour route until the creation of the bypass road. In the 1960s, when the road was designated as the main park entrance route, it was paved and regraded.

The park entrance at Highway 22 contains all the components of a battlefield park landscape. A broad vista of a historic field, enveloping clumps of evergreens and a scattering of monuments and cannon distinguish the site as a significant historic and park landscape to passing vehicles. Worm fencing leads visitors down the road toward the visitor center. This main park entry route is a windy picturesque roadway. It is flanked by a variegated landscape of manicured fields and woodlands edged by mowed roadsides that are dotted with specimen trees. Several monuments catch the eyes of visitors as they proceed toward the visitor complex. The road is elevated above the roadside grade. Curves are accentuated by superelevation. Six asphalt pull-off areas, located at the entrance and adjacent to several monuments, allow visitors to park their vehicles and examine the scenery and artifacts more closely. When approaching the visitor center, the road becomes more windy and monuments are more numerous, providing visitors with the sense that they are nearing an important area of the park.

Significant Features: Because it contains all the significant features of a Shiloh park road, including the variegated field and forest scenery, monuments and cannon, and serpentine road construction, it exemplifies contemporary SNMP roadway design and aesthetics. The entrance at Highway 22, as described above, and the role it played in the configuration of the visitor center complex are also important.

3. Current Road Name: Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road

Other Names: Confederate Road

Materials: Concrete slabs with concrete and asphalt pull-offs

Length: 2.1 miles measured from the T-intersection with Corinth Road to stop sign at the Visitor Center complex. Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road and Corinth Road are historically the same route. Since they are currently designated by two different names, two separate road descriptions were created for this report.

Width: 20'

Location: Road leads from the Visitor Center south through the center of the park to Corinth Road.

Description: Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road was the first road to be improved by the War Department for the park. It was redesigned as a prototypical park road in the 1930s.

After leaving the visitor center, the next mile of roadway is gently undulating and windy. Most of the curves are superelevated. The road is flanked by 30' to 50' of neatly-manicured grassy borders that lead into dense woodlands. The grassy areas are dotted with specimen trees which shade the route. Once visitors depart the immediate visitor center area, there are no monuments along this first stretch of the road. No significant battle actions occurred along this part of the route.

After the intersection with Hamburg-Savannah Road, the land adjacent to the road flattens out and the landscape opens up into large fields. Specimen trees are scattered in a field up to the west. The road curves broadly through the landscape, providing inviting glimpses of the historic markers and monuments ahead. The road passes the UDC monument to the south before entering a dense wooded area. Visitors exit the forest and re-enter an agricultural-type landscape. Pull-off areas are provided for Hornets' Nest and Ruggles' Battery line. The road returns to another wooded area, with Review Field visible through the trees to the south. Visitors are directed north to the Confederate Burial trenches off of McClernand and Sherman Roads. Continuing on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road to the west (and off the tour route), the road makes a sharp curve south, merging into the Corinth Road.

Significant Features: The route itself is a significant example of 1930s-type park roadway design. It passes several of the most important battlefield and commemorative landmarks, including the

UDC monument, Hornets' Nest, and Ruggles' Battery line.

4. Current Road Name: Eastern Corinth Road
Other Names: Hornet's Nest Road (section between Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road and Hamburg-Purdy Road) and Gladden Road (section south of Hamburg-Purdy Road)
Material: Asphalt
Length: 1.3 miles (within park)
Width: 18'

Location: This north-south oriented road terminates at Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road at the north end and at Bark Road to the south, outside of the Park boundary.

Description: Hamburg-Purdy Road marks the juncture between two different road experiences along Eastern Corinth Road. The south end possesses the qualities of a rural country lane. The road runs straight along the east side of a large historic field. An allee of tall oak trees provides a shady canopy for visitors on the tour route. The tour route takes visitors east on Hamburg-Purdy Road. If visitors continued on Eastern Corinth, they would curve down into a dense woods before climbing slightly up to the crossing with Sunken Road. The road terminates at a T-intersection at Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. Here, visitors face a hedge of thick shrubs and trees. The angle of the intersection encourages drivers to turn right toward the visitor center complex. According to Allen, the intersection retains the historic fork alignment of the main Corinth and the Eastern Corinth Roads.

Significant Features: The mortuary monument to Brigadier General Gladden next to Spain Field, which is not on the tour route, Putnam's monument, the gravel loop at Sunken Road, and many other state monuments are some of the significant features of this road.

5. Current Road Name: Hamburg-Savannah Road

Other Names: Johnston Road (section between Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road and Hamburg-Purdy Road), Lew Wallace Road (section north of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road continuing beyond Highway 22)

Material: Asphalt

Length: 2.2 miles

Width: 18'

Location: Within the park, nearly half the length of the road (approximately 2 miles) is a gravel trace now closed to vehicular traffic. This northern section used to be the old Route 22. The accessible section stretches from Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road south, past the intersection with Hamburg-Purdy Road. At this crossroads, it changes to Hamburg Road and continues another half mile to the southeast boundary of the park. Outside the park, it remains a vital county road lined with numerous residences.

Description: This road makes up the final length of the tour route. There is a lot of stop-and-go traffic on the route because of the extensive number of visitor pull-offs. Like other park roads, Hamburg-Savannah Road is characterized by a patchwork of driving and landscape experiences. From the south to the north end, visitors drive through alternate patterns of forests and fields three times. After dipping sharply down and out of a forested ravine just south of the Johnston site, the road levels and straightens out until it terminates at the Michigan Memorial on Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. This final section has vistas of distant monuments and verdant fields and trees.

Significant Features: Some of the significant features include Johnston's Death Site, the Peach Orchard, George cabin, and Bloody Pond.

6. Current Road Name: Hamburg-Purdy Road

Other Names: Federal Road, Route 57, Hamburg Road

Material: Concrete slabs in 40' x 20' sections

Length: 2.5 miles

Width: 20'

Location: Within the park, the road stretches from Highway 22 to

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 113)

the southeast end of park where it merges with Hamburg-Savannah Road and then exits the park. It becomes a county road on the east end of the park, and State Route 142 on the western border.

Description: The route is a relatively straight, flat road which alternates between patches of dense woodlands and open farmland. Only a small section of the road, between Eastern Corinth and Hamburg-Savannah Road, is part of the tour route. The route includes one of the most picturesque battlefield scenes in the park. The site encompasses a distant view across Sarah Bell Field of the Peach Orchard and the George cabin. A foreground of cannon, worm fence, and mature shade trees make it an idyllic site in the park. Another significant site along this road is at Review Field. The field is flanked by monuments and an oak forest, creating a pleasing rural setting. A magnolia tree thriving just east of the field by the side of the road marks the spot near where the old superintendent's house used to stand.

The intersection with Corinth Road contains a profusion of monuments, markers, cannon, and shade trees set amidst a closely-clipped field (the south end of Woolf Field). The meticulous landscaping at both ends of the road provide telltale signs that drivers have left the county roads and entered a national park.

Turf drainage ditches are located on either side of the road. The concrete surface contains many tar patches at the joints.

Significant Features: The most significant feature of this road is the picturesque scenery.

7. Current Road Name: Corinth Road
Other Names: Route 22 (historically)
Material: Concrete slabs, 40' x 20'
Length: 1.6 miles
Width: 20'

Location: Within the park, Corinth Road spans from Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road south to Reconnoitering Road. Some maps identify the stretch of Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road between Hamburg-Savannah Road and Corinth Road as Corinth Road as well. Known as the Shiloh-Corinth Road, the route used to continue south past Reconnoitering Road to the town of Shiloh, and then on

to Corinth, Mississippi, nineteen miles to the south.

Description: This historic trace likely originated as a route for river commerce at Pittsburg Landing. Therefore, it probably predates the construction of the railroad depots in Corinth. During the battle, Confederate troops marched up a portion of it (from Corinth to Monterey, about half way to Pittsburg Landing) and returned down the same segment after the defeat. Park officials unsuccessfully petitioned Congress for funds to improve the section between the park and Corinth through the early twentieth century. The section between the park and the Mississippi state line was a private toll road from 1914 until 1924, the year that it was finally incorporated in the SNMP road system. In 1962, a bypass road was created to the west in order to separate local commuter traffic from the park. The bypass road (Highway 22) and the length of Shiloh-Corinth Road from the southern park border to the Mississippi was turned over to the state of Tennessee. The southern section in the park was closed when the bypass road was completed.

Even though Corinth Road is one of the most important roads to the history of the battle and the park itself, there are relatively few monuments and markers along its course. The road begins as a relatively straight route at Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road. After passing the church, graveyard, and clearing where the Shiloh school once stood, the road adopts park road characteristics, such as superelevated curves and verdant roadside scenery. Shiloh Branch was once covered by a decorative bridge creating a picturesque scene. Since the bridge was replaced by a culvert, the crossing is barely noticeable. After passing the 12' gravel trace of Beauregard Road on the right, Corinth Road comes to an abrupt end at the intersection with Reconnoitering Road. Its historic route is visible beyond the cement curbs that bar its passage. Visitors may follow the grassy gravel trail on foot for approximately half a mile to the intersection of Highway 22 and Route 142, the old main entrance to the park. It is now nearly obliterated from the landscape.

Significant Features: The road itself is an important historical artifact of the battle and of the development of the park, especially in regards to its relationship to road improvement of the entire community. Significant cultural features include the Shiloh Church and graveyard and scores of monuments, markers, and cannon. The road also has one of the park's most elaborate culverts which is located over Shiloh Branch.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
HAER No. TN-37
(Page 115)

8. Current Road Name: Peabody Road

Other Names: Prentiss Road

Material: Asphalt

Length: 1.0 miles

Width: 16'

Location: The road runs in a east-west direction connecting Corinth Road with Eastern Corinth Road.

Description: Peabody is a narrow asphalt country-type road. Because most of it is closely bordered by forest and there are only a few historic markers present, it has the feel of a rural country road rather than a park road. Most of Peabody Road is not on the tour route, perhaps explaining the road's more informal character. At the west end, a "Do Not Enter" sign is located just past Rea Springs parking lot, forcing visitors to return to the tour route on Corinth Road instead of proceeding on Peabody Road. At the intersection of Reconnoitering Road, drivers are permitted to turn west but the tour sign directs them east so, presumably, few people use this section of the road. This eastern leg that stretches from the Peabody monument to Eastern Corinth Road post-dates the battle. At the fork with Eastern Corinth Road, a tour sign directs visitors to the north since driving south will take them out of the park. There were several plans to eradicate large sections of Peabody Road that were never carried out.

Significant Features: The west end of the route has a large stone culvert that crosses Shiloh Branch. Just east of the Shiloh Branch crossing is Rea Springs gravel parking lot to the north and Rea Field to the south. At the intersection of Reconnoitering Road is a mortuary/headquarters monument to Colonel Everett Peabody. There are three other sets of monuments located east of the Peabody monument.

9. Current Road Name: Reconnoitering Road

Other Names: N/A

Material: Asphalt

Length: .8 miles

Width: 13'

Location: This road stretches from the south end of Corinth Road

northeast to a T-intersection at Peabody Road.

Description: This road was an old farm lane that existed before the battle. According to a Trailhead Graphics map, a gentle curve in the road was replaced by the sharp one which is currently in place, perhaps to divert visitors past a position marker.

Reconnoitering Road is the narrowest road in the park. Trees are permitted to grow close to the road. Its course, which begins straight and then becomes more windy, is reminiscent of a secluded country lane. Few monuments and only four markers adorn the roadside which further accentuates its vernacular character. The road ends abruptly at Peabody Road, although the historic trace (now a dirt trail) continues north, supposedly once joining up with Riverside Drive.

Significant Features: A few historic markers and Seay Field are the notable features along the road.

10. Current Road Name: Riverside Drive
Other Names: Brown's Landing Road
Material: Asphalt
Length: 1.5 miles
Width: 12'

Location: The road forms a broad arch that begins at Pittsburg Landing Road at the top of the bluff, curves east down toward the river, and then back west in a straight line to Hamburg-Savannah Road.

Description: The road predates the battle. The section from Hamburg-Savannah Road east to the Indian mounds, then south to the river was known as Brown's Landing Road. Riverside Drive was historically referred to as the site of the most picturesque landscape in the park.

Riverside Drive forms a long graceful curve to the river overlook. Woods on either side are separated from the road by wide clearings dotted with evergreen and deciduous trees. There is an information panel and a stone wall at the overlook that

border what used to be a parking lot. The trace of an earlier route that bypassed the overlook is easily evident on the ground. After the overlook, the road follows a steep decline down to Dill Branch. A deep cement gutter abuts the inside curve leading down to the creek. Decaying log fences are located along the outside curves. The vegetation has encroached up to, and in some places, over the edge of the road.

After climbing up to another plateau, the road takes a deep S-curve through the Indian mounds. A stone-lined gravel parking lot is located to the east between the mounds. The area is mowed but tall shade trees provide a thick canopy over the site. The road curves back into a dense wooded area for a quarter mile and then heads straight out to Cloud Field. It divides the field in half. It ends at a T-intersection at Hamburg-Savannah Road. The way is blocked for motor vehicles.

Significant Features: The most significant cultural feature on the route is the Indian Mounds complex, which is registered as a National Historic Landmark. The road also has a significant engineering feature, which is the double culvert over Dill Branch. There have been severe erosion problems along the route since the park's inception. The historic photographs of the engineering solutions at Dill Branch serve as a valuable record of bridge and culvert technology.

11. Current Road Name: McClernand Road, Sherman Road, and Burial Trench Loop

Other Names:

Material: Asphalt

Length: Entire Burial Trench Loop: .75 miles /McClernand Road only: .25 miles

Width: 12'

Location: McClernard Road forms the first leg of a one-way loop that passes the largest Confederate burial trench in the park. It spans from Corinth-Pittsburg Landing Road northwest to Sherman Road. The route then takes a sharp turn to the south before curving around by the trench. It terminates at Corinth Road.

Description: This road dates from the park era. It was created to provide access to the largest Confederate burial trench, which

was not located on a historic trace.

McClernand Road is a narrow, windy country-type road. Although some spots along the road are cleared for monuments, most of the lane is closely edged by woodlands. In the Burial Trench Loop's current configuration, McClernand Road deadends at Sherman Road where visitors are forced south because the northern section of Sherman is now closed. Although the route remains immersed in woods, the view ahead opens up onto the monuments in Woolf Field, the site of the last significant combat in the battle. A loop park road branches off to the west, which allows vehicles to drive directly abreast of the trench. This quarter-mile circuit rejoins Sherman Road. It passes the Water Oaks pond interpretation pavilion before intersecting with Corinth Road to the south.

Significant Features: The Confederate Burial Trench and, to a much lesser degree, McClernand's First Division Headquarters monument are the important sites along the route.

12. Current Road Name: Sunken Road

Other Names:

Material: Dirt

Length: 3/5 miles

Width: 8-10'

Location: This road runs from Corinth Road in a semicircle south and east to the Hamburg-Savannah Road.

Description: The dirt trail forms the boundary between a dense forest to the east and an open field to the west. It is lined with monuments celebrating what some historians considered one of the important military engagements of the battle.³²⁴

South of the intersection with Eastern Corinth Road, Sunken Road is marked by numerous monuments immersed in a fairly unceremonious landscape of overgrown brush. The area contrasts sharply with the other more formally landscaped sites in the park

³²⁴ See Kay, "The Sunken Road," for an in-depth analysis of the road's role in the battle.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS

HAER No. TN-37

(Page 119)

where monuments proliferate. The lane cuts through woodlands before turning east at the George cabin. The road trace terminates at the Hamburg-Savannah Road.

Significant features: Unlike many of the other significant roads in the park, Sunken Road was preserved as a dirt path instead of being paved because of its supposed strategic importance to the Union defense on the first day. For many years, the road was presumed to have been a vital natural defense line for Union troops during the first day of the conflict. William Kay, a SNMP historian, wrote a provocative history of the road which reassessed earlier interpretations of the important role it played in the battle.

Appendix 2: CHRONOLOGY

- 1819: Hardin County formed.
- 1862: Battle of Shiloh, April 6-7, 1862.
- 1864: Gettysburg Battlefield Association established.
- 1866: Shiloh National Cemetery established.
- 1890: Chickamauga and Chattanooga National Park established.
- 1893: Shiloh Battlefield Association established.
- 1894: Shiloh National Military Park established on December 27, 1894.
- 1895: U.S. received jurisdiction over battlefield land from the State of Tennessee.
- Gettysburg National Military Park established.
- 1897: 2,095 acres of battlefield land purchased by this date.
- 1898: October 5, 1898, construction in park begins.
- 1899: Vicksburg National Military Park established.
- 1905: First phase of construction completed at SNMP.
- 1906: First dam and bridge constructed across Dill Branch.
- 1909: Tornado strikes park, inflicting severe damage to features and structures at Pittsburg Landing.
- Five wooden bridges in park replaced by reinforced concrete structures.
- 1912: Sundry Civil Bill passed.
- Pavilion constructed at bluff atop Pittsburg Landing.
- 1914: Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company begins operation.
- 1915: Ban free-roaming livestock in the park.

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
HAER No. TN-37
(Page 121)

- 1916: National Park Service established.
Federal Aid Road Act.
- 1919: Hamburg-Purdy Road incorporated into Tennessee Highway 57.
- 1921: Federal Highway Act.
- 1923: 3,547.14 acres of battlefield land purchased by this date.
- 1924: Corinth, Shiloh, and Savannah Turnpike Company sells eleven mile road to SNMP, and route is renamed Shiloh-Corinth Road.

Shiloh-Corinth Road improved as part of the SNMP road system.
- 1926: National Park Service and Bureau of Public Roads partnership began.
- 1927: First battlefield guide issued.
- 1932: Shiloh-Corinth Road paved in concrete.
- 1933: Battlefield parks transferred to the National Park Service from the War Department.

400 African-American CCC workers employed in park from 1933 to 1941.
- 1935: Visitor Center building erected.

Renovation of Visitor Center complex road system.

Grazing or keeping livestock (except horses) banned in the park on August 1, 1935.
- 1940: First guide map brochure issued.
- 1953: Shiloh Park Citizens Association formed.
- 1954: Beginning of Mission 66 Program.
- 1958: State of Tennessee conveyed 51 acres to SNMP for

SHILOH NATIONAL MILITARY PARK TOUR ROADS
HAER No. TN-37
(Page 122)

construction of Highway 22 bypass road.

- 1962: Bypass road, Tennessee Highway 22, opened.
- 1963: Picnic facilities at Sowell Field, off Highway 22, constructed.
- 1980: New General Management Plan developed.

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HAER No. TN-37

(Page 125)

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HAER No. TN-37
(Page 127)

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HAER No. TN-37
(Page 128)

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